

The Biden Era Begins! — Athar Mansoor

JAHANGIR'S

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## CSS Interview

### The Language Conundrum

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**T**he interview part of CSS examination is no less than a riddle and a perplexing phenomenon. Almost every year, we see that many candidates either fail the interview or get lower marks in that, despite the fact that they had scored excellent marks in the written part of the exam. I personally know a number of people whose interview scores do not depict their real talents and capabilities. Yet, there is hardly any recognition of this fact, let alone finding the ways and means to plug in this lacuna. After thorough deliberations and conducting interviews with successful as well as failed candidates, one factor that emerges as the most conspicuous cause behind this perpetual fiasco is: conduct of CSS interview in English language only. We have found that candidates who couldn't speak English fluently and with great confidence during the interview, had to bear the brunt in the form of low scores, or even failure. But, realistically speaking, it must not be so; because, in Pakistan, where almost zero attention is paid to activities that could inculcate confidence in students, it must not be weird that even a genius may find it hard to convey his thoughts, with a superlative degree of confidence, in a language that is not his own. Similar is the case with CSS aspirants; those who appear before the panel for the interview had already proved and manifested their command over reading, understanding and writing the English language. After all, that is why they qualified for the interview! So, it is an unwarranted thing that a candidate must be able to express himself confidently in the English language. It is more so given the fact that the panellists are supposed to assess and weigh the talents of the aspirants on the touchstone of suitability for civil service. Rule 15(1) contained in Rules CE 2019 and onwards explicitly states that in the following words:

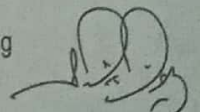
"... The object of the interview is to assess his suitability for the services for which he [an aspirant] is entered and in framing their assessment the board shall attach particular importance to the moral and ethical qualities of the candidates, his intelligence and alertness of mind, his vigour and strength of character and his potential qualities of leadership. The board shall take into consideration his extramural activities such as sports, debates, hobbies, etc., and their effect on his physique and character, in assessing his merit."

All the qualities enumerated in this rule can be judged when a candidate feels at ease and is provided with an environment during the interview wherein (s)he may express his/her thoughts candidly. But, when a candidate will have to work only on mastering the art of speaking the English language, how would his/her genuine personality will come to the fore? No sane person would deny that since the interviewers have to dig deep into the personality of a candidate, they should use the language a candidate is comfortable in while expressing his/her thoughts. If they stick only with English, candidates appearing before them would not be genuine and original, but they will find only the artificial, meretricious personalities. This anomaly must be resolved for the sake of preventing the waste of talent that is happening right under the nose of FPSC. Panellists have every right to select or reject a candidate if they don't find him/her fit for the civil service, yet awarding lower marks only because (s)he couldn't speak English fluently and confidently is not fair, rather it's sheer injustice to them. The only panacea to this complex problem is to ameliorate the CSS exam and introducing Urdu. Although it should be done on a priority basis, yet what can be an urgent yet remarkable step is to give the candidates an option to choose between English and Urdu as the medium for interview. And, this is not something out of this world as this policy is being successfully implemented in India. Indian Administrative Service (IAS) aspirants can give the UPSC interview in English or any regional language, irrespective of the medium of the written exam. In fact, there have been toppers who took the UPSC interview in regional languages. It might also be interesting to note here that Bangladesh Public Service Commission (BPSC) from 2019 even started serving a cup of tea and a piece of biscuit to the viva-voce candidates.

Another important contention to prove this point is that a major part of an officer's career in civil service is spent while doing public dealing for which he hardly ever has to converse in English, then why he is adjudged fit or unfit for a service or group, or for civil service altogether, just on the basis of his proficiency in speaking the English language?

And the best time to make this decision was years ago, the second best is now. The result for the written part of CSS 2020 exam has been announced and the 376 candidates, who have qualified this part, are now about to enter the next crucial phase: the interview. So, at a time when, Capt. (R) Maroof Afzal (former federal secretary) has assumed the reins of Federal Public Service Commission (FPSC) as its chairman, and three new members—Muhammad Tahir (former IGP Khyber Pakhtunkhwa), Nafees Zakaria (former diplomat) and Fazal Abbas Mekan (former federal secretary)—have assumed their responsibilities as members, giving FPSC a somewhat newer look, it seems pertinent to raise this burning question at this point.

We earnestly hope that a new FPSC will take this positive step towards giving equitable treatment to all candidates by providing them with the opportunity to choose the medium of the interview. If the practice of using English persists, then the civil service of Pakistan, will one day become a club of officers who have graduated either from foreign or elite local universities—in any case, a club of the elite which in the words of Lord Macaulay are only "a class of persons Indian [Pakistani in our context] in blood and colour, but English in tastes, in opinions, in morals and in intellect."



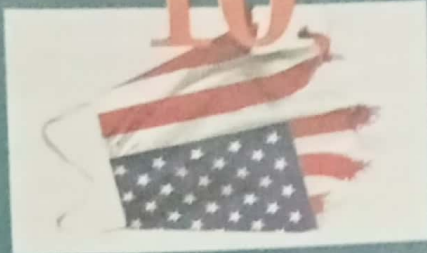
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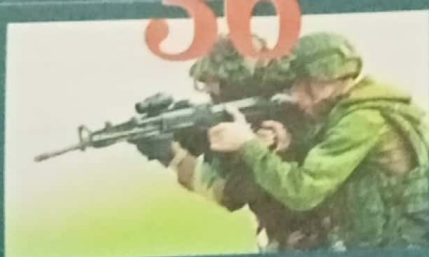
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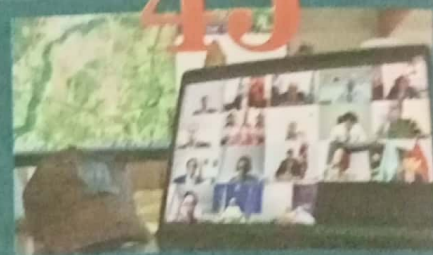
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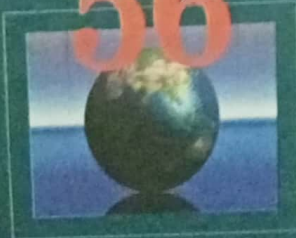
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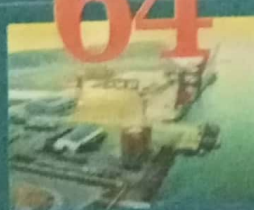
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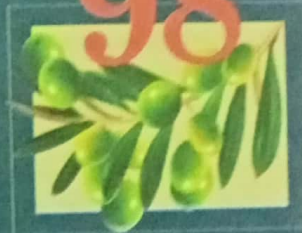
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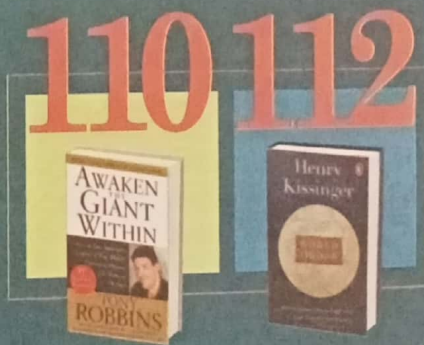
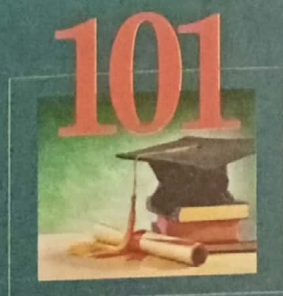
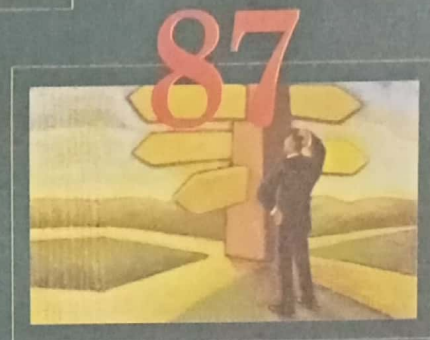
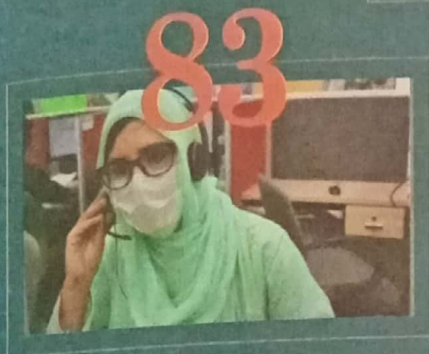
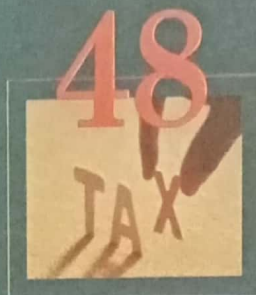
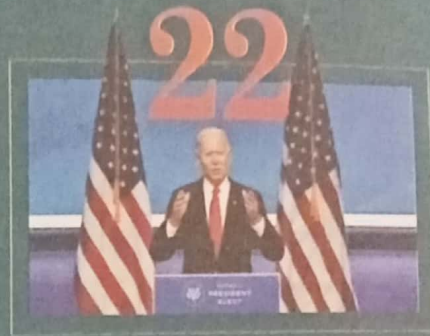
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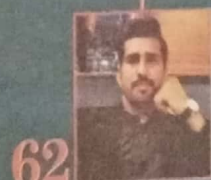


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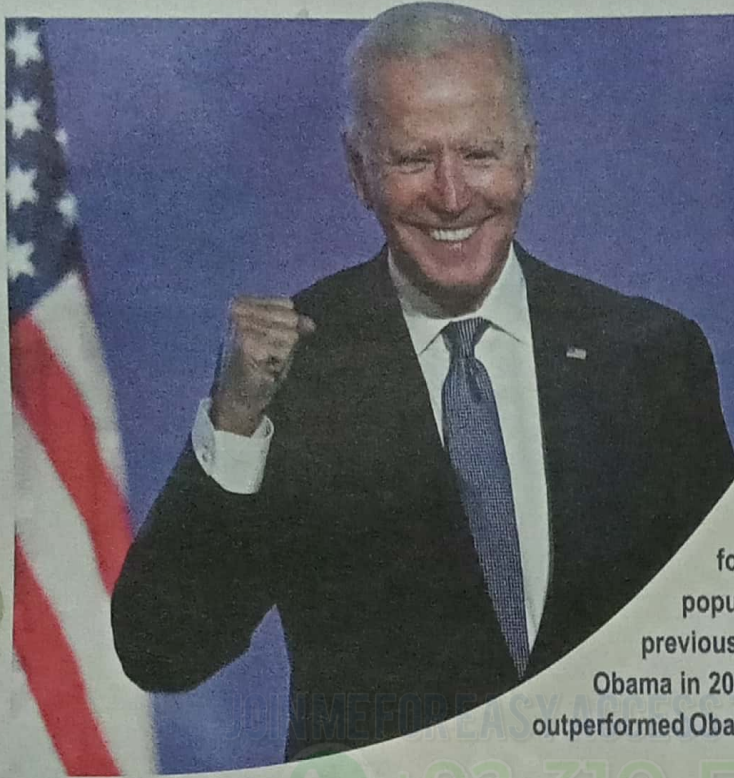
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INTERVIEWS





The nail-biting contest to the White House is over with the President-elect Joe Biden all set to step into the Oval Office on 20th of January 2021. Despite the havoc unleashed in the United States by the deadly coronavirus, which has infected more than ten million and killed a quarter of a million Americans with still no signs of abatement, the two top presidential candidates for this year broke all previous records of getting popular votes in US history. Biden surpassed the previous best of 69.5 million votes fetched by Barack Obama in 2008 by a big margin of 5.5 million and Trump, too, outperformed Obama by getting 70.5 million popular votes.

## The **BIDEN** ERA BEGINS

**Can the new US President heal a deeply fissured America?**



It is not only the popular votes where Biden beats all the previous US Presidents; he is also setting a new record by becoming the oldest President in American history. He will be 78 years old when he takes the oath of his

office early next year. The top spot for being the oldest President, in office, was, till now, held by Ronald Reagan who was 77 when he left in 1989.

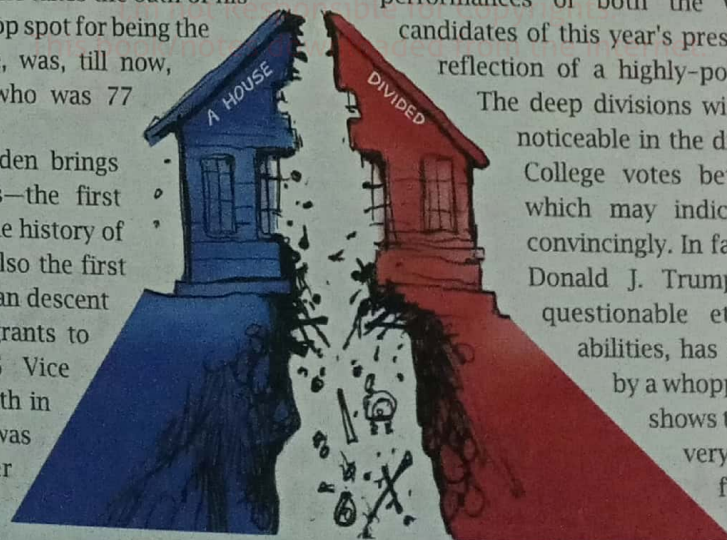
It does not stop here. Biden brings with him, Kamala Harris—the first female Vice President in the history of the United States. She is also the first black woman of South Asian descent and a daughter of immigrants to get elected as the US Vice President. Her joy and faith in the future of America was clearly evident in her victory speech when she

remarked, "While I may be the first woman in this office; I will not be the last!" A powerful and optimistic message indeed, against discrimination in the US of the future.

The number of votes cast and the record-breaking performances of both the winning and the losing candidates of this year's presidential election is a clear reflection of a highly-polarized American society.

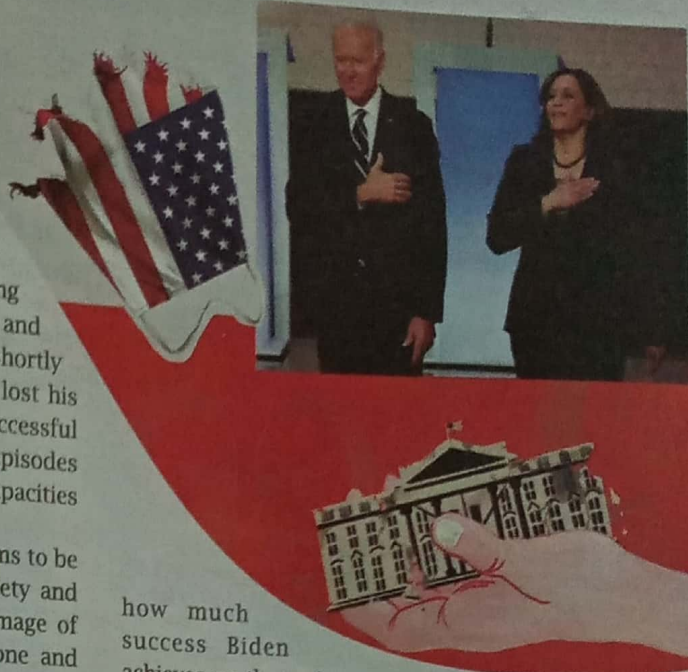
The deep divisions within the US are not easily noticeable in the distribution of the Electoral College votes between Biden and Trump which may indicate that Biden has won convincingly. In fact, the outgoing President, Donald J. Trump, despite his record of questionable ethics and administrative abilities, has increased his popular vote by a whopping 7.5 million votes which shows that America clearly has two very different visions for the future.

These extraordinary





circumstances in the US political, social and economic milieu demand a prudent and wise response from the President-elect. Biden has surely an uphill task in front of him and that is to set the direction of a divided America right. Personally, he seems to be a man with a lot of endurance and courage and a reasonable choice by the Americans to achieve the goal of uniting America. In 1972, his first wife Neilla Hunter and daughter Amy could not survive a road accident shortly after he became a US Senator-elect. In 2015, he lost his eldest son Beau Biden due to brain cancer. His successful handling of these extremely traumatic personal episodes indicate his resilience and robust psychological capacities which are direly needed in these difficult times. Another positive thing about Biden is that he seems to be well aware of the division in the American society and understands the importance of recreating the image of America as a place of "possibilities" for everyone and rebuilding it together with the help of all Americans. In his victory speech, he referred to the Bible and said, "It tells us 'to everything there is a season. A time to build, a time to reap and time to sow and a time to heal.' This is the time to heal in America." In this speech, he also pledged to be, "a president who seeks not to divide but unify. Who does not see the red states and the blue states; only sees the United States." He is cognizant of the systemic racism rooted in the American society and has shown resolve to get rid of it. He has promised to marshal resources and spare no effort and commitment to turnaround the pandemic situation which was never, since its outbreak, a priority of Trump administration. Biden has also indicated his strong commitment to rebuilding the US economy and combat climate crisis. This agenda sounds very promising and only time will tell



how much success Biden achieves on the various fronts touched upon by him in the victory speech. A major step for progressing towards his explicitly stated goals would be to remain more focused domestically and do less in the international arena. This can be a huge challenge as this is not something for which the American body politic has an appetite for. At least, the experience of the last several decades shows this. Also, this may not be possible as the geo-political contest between China and the United States becomes fiercer in the coming years. The American society has a deep concern about losing the number one position in the world, which they have maintained over a century, to China in the not-so-far future. As a nation, it is painful when you see someone else competing against you and almost ready to displace you from the top slot. However, to give China a tough time, the US first needs to be resilient and robust

internally. Under the current circumstances, it does not make sense at all to carry on with the hostile policies against China such as the trade war and blame game in the wake of the Covid-19 pandemic.

With such a divided society, Biden needs to bridge the gaps at home first and then prepare America for giving China a tough time as the geo-political contest between the two great powers gets intense in the coming years. The question remains: Can Biden start with a serious domestic focus for healing the deep fissures in America? ■

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# Highlights of the fifth plenary session of the 19th CPC Central Committee



Date:  
Oct 26-29, 2020



198 CPC Central Committee members  
166 CPC Central Committee alternate members

## The session adopted 14th Five-Year Plan (2021-25) and the Long-Range Objectives Through the Year 2035

### New targets for 2021-25



Realize sustained and  
healthy economic de-  
velopment



Prioritize the develop-  
ment of agriculture and  
rural areas, and fully ad-  
vance rural vitalization



Enhance social etiquette  
and civility; core socialist  
values shall be embraced  
by the people



Speed up the "dual cir-  
culation" strategy



Make new progress in  
building an ecological  
civilization



Achieve fuller and  
higher-quality  
employment



Enhance multi-tiered  
social security system  
and health system



Make major strides in the  
modernization of national  
defense & the armed forces



Improve the national administration systems;  
the role of the government will be better  
played



Maintain long-term prosperity and stability for HK & Macao,  
and promote the peaceful development of relations across  
the Taiwan Straits and national reunification

### Vision for China 2035

## China is aiming to basically achieve socialist modernization



Making major breakthroughs in  
core technologies in key areas,  
China will become a global leader  
in innovation



China will finish building a mod-  
ernized economy



The per capita GDP will reach the  
level of moderately developed coun-  
tries. The size of the middle-income  
group will be significantly expanded



Eco-friendly ways of work and life  
will be advanced to cover all areas of  
society. Carbon emission will steady-  
ly decline after reaching a peak



The opening-up will reach a new  
stage with substantial growth of  
the country's strengths for partici-  
pating in international economic  
cooperation and competition



The implementation of the Secure  
China initiative will be promoted to a  
higher level





¥€\$£



## China's 14<sup>th</sup> Five-Year Plan

New plan promotes new development



The People's Republic of China wields enormous influence in the arena of international trade and finance. This Asian giant has become the world's largest manufacturing economy (\$3.8 trillion), the biggest exporter (\$2.6 trillion), the world's second-largest importer (\$2.08 trillion), surpassed the gross domestic product (on the basis of Purchasing Power Parity) of the United States in 2017 and is the world's second-largest economy by nominal GDP. It has the world's largest foreign exchange reserves (\$3.2 trillion as of October 2019) and can boast of having the world's largest labour force (778 million people) that can sustain its unstoppable march of spectacular growth. Having a population of 1.39 billion people, and the world's fastest-growing consumer market, China has emerged as the unchallengeable leader in global finance and trade and is acting predominantly in shaping the rules, procedures and norms that govern the international liberal world order. A colossal economy as well as its growing liberalization and integration with the advanced economies of the world has made it extremely important for the world's capitals to keep a keen watch over the domestic politico-economic developments in China. Of all such developments, the Five-Year Plan holds huge

significance and it is considered the most important policy document by dint of its potential repercussions for the world economy as well as environmental sustainability.

Five-Year Plan is essentially a relic of the Soviet-era command economy. Under five-year plans, centralized economic plans and targets are prioritized, thereby launching a series of socioeconomic initiatives in order to ensure economic growth, economic equity, social justice, employment opportunities, self-reliance and modernization. Centralized planning with inputs from vital stakeholders helps the government to ensure efficient resource allocation, prioritize sectoral performance, improve socio-economic indicators, eradicate market anomalies and streamline departmental and ministerial coordination for futuristic objectives. The Communist Party of China (CPC), through its plenary sessions and national congresses, designs five-year plans. China's first five-year plan was devised in 1953 with active Soviet assistance. Throughout the 1950s and '60s, the mainstay of China's centralized planning remained rapid industrial growth, but the plans could not secure intended targets owing to political instability, economic turmoil, ideological rigidity, natural and manmade disasters and, most importantly, isolation from

Aftab H. Wahle



the world economy and finance. President Deng Xiaoping launched a raft of structural reforms in the Chinese economy that incrementally phased out the collectivized agriculture, liberalized the markets, increased the autonomy of state-owned enterprises and opened up Chinese markets for foreign trade and investment. The gamble paid off; the introduction of the socialist market economy helped increase the country's GDP ten-folds since 1978. Now 84% of companies are privately-owned and 80% of Chinese jobs are created by private firms. With this transformation, Five-Year Plans are more about setting priority areas that offer strategic direction to secure targets, rather a detailed route how to get there. In order to further shrug off the Soviet legacy, China named its 11th Five-Year plan (2006-2010) as the guideline rather than a plan to accurately reflect the Chinese transition from a planned economy to socialist market economy. Nowadays, the Chinese government has restricted its role to complement and reinforce market dynamics by providing regulations and guidelines. That includes providing legal and social frameworks (such as issuing monetary and fiscal policies), ensuring public goods and services and correcting market failures such as pollution. In other words, China has transformed its role from an exclusively socialist economy to a socialist market economy that is more liberalized than the communist economy but less liberalized than the capitalist one.

Despite having maintained a spectacular 10% GDP growth for decades, China's economy has crumble under its own weight. Negative externality (a cost imposed on the rest of the society as the result of receiving benefits from sustained growth, like pollution, environmental degradation, etc.), shortage of power and reliance over non-renewable resources, growing income and regional disparities, aging population, bloated companies, spiralling private and public debt, massive overcapacity in the property market and heavy industries and lack of innovation are some of the impediments that are pulling down the GDP growth of this economic behemoth. Apart from such structural issues, Covid-19-caused precipitous economic downturn and US-China tech and trade war are also taking a heavy toll on the Chinese economy. Amidst this background, the recently concluded 5th plenary session of the 19th Central Committee of the CPC that finalized the draft proposals for the 14th Five-Year Plan (2021-2025) and Long-Range Objectives holds special significance. Five-Year Plan for National Economic and Social Development and Long-

Range Objectives through the Year 2035 warrant detailed discussion so as to have a better idea of the future growth trajectory of China and its consequences on world trade and commerce.

The 22-paragraph official communiqué, released on October 29, 2020, by a four-day plenary meeting of the 19th Central Committee did not go into the fine details of the 14th Five-Year Plan, these will be flashed out at National People's Congress (equivalent to an annual sitting of parliament) which is going to be held in March 2021. The communiqué did highlight some broad objectives and strategies to achieve growth fast enough to generate jobs, minimize income and regional disparities, deepen engagement with the world economy, reduce reliance over export-provided economic growth and ensure a breakthrough in core technologies. A threadbare discussion about the significance of these objectives for international trade, commerce, finance and the environment has been made in the following paragraphs.

Techno-

**MADE IN  
CHINA**

logical innovation and resultant technological self-reliance is the main area of emphasis in the 14th Five-Year Plan (innovation has been mentioned 15 times in communiqué). It has been emphasized that China will be made the leader in innovation by 2035 by making breakthroughs in core technologies (those which solve problems and extend human

capabilities like mechanical, electrical, material, fluid, bio and optical technologies). China is aiming at the transition from manufacturing-led growth to high tech-driven growth. The US-China tech war whereby the US is seeking to contain the rise of its geopolitical rival by hampering Chinese access to world export market and technology is a major factor for this strategic realignment of development goals. The US has already barred dozens of large Chinese companies from buying American parts and it slapped a ban on TikTok and WeChat. Recently, Sweden banned Huawei technologies and ZTE Corp. (a Chinese firm) from gaining access to its fifth-generation (5G) wireless communication, UK has also imposed an outright ban on Huawei's 5G equipment for alleged 'surveillance and reconnaissance being carried out by the Chinese state'. These technological sanctions and embargoes have convinced the top Chinese leadership that continuity of Chinese growth hinges upon technological self-reliance. In this regard, China is eyeing domestic production of chips and semiconductors which are building blocks for innovations and Artificial Intelligence, 5G networking and autonomous vehicles—the next-



innovation relevant. As per the Global Innovation Index 2021 published by the World Intellectual Property Organization, China stands at 14th position among top-performing economies and it indicates the long way ahead for China to become a global leader in innovation-driven growth. The top-down political system, bureaucratic organization of the Chinese scientific community and restricted international collaboration are major constraints in creating an enabling ecosystem for innovation in various technological fields. Pursuing self-sufficiency through self-sustaining growth through technological innovations can hamper growth as resources have to be transferred from productive sectors, but in the longer run, investment in R&D and other innovation-enabling infrastructure will act as a great buffer against any shock generated by West-led technological embargoes. China has taken the right step in the right direction.

Dual Circulation or Double Development Dynamic is another catchword in the communiqué that has grabbed the attention of the world community. Dual circulation has two components: international circulation and external circulation. International circulation refers to domestic economic activities and external circulation implies China's economic links with the outside world. Dual circulation signals a paradigm shift in the development patterns wherein China will fortify its domestic consumer markets in addition to strengthen or deepen its engagement with the world.

The adoption of a dual circulation growth strategy indicates that China intends to reduce the role of international trade in growth and ratchet up the domestic economy. Many factors are responsible for this inward-looking approach. China has been relying upon an export-driven economy for the last four decades, but the recent Covid-19 pandemic-led interruption in world trade and consumer markets, intensifying trade and tech war with the US and resultant decoupling of US economy from China, declining demand of Chinese products on the back of Covid-19 caused an economic downturn in advanced economies, the rising tide of unilateralism and protectionism around the world, deteriorating relations with ASEAN countries, growing middle-class (400 million middle-income residents) and its ever-diversifying demands, the capability of 1.4 billion population to form complete industrial chains (production, distribution and consumption) have pushed China to think more in long term. To make that happen, China is planning to end regional and income disparities by redistributing capital, talent and technology from coastal areas to central and

northern provinces. Five-Year Plan also intends to complement external circulation through strengthening domestic consumer markets. Boosting the domestic market by opening up and introducing fierce competition would attract foreign investment as no one would like to miss the opportunity to have access to a 400 million strong middle-income consumer base. Strengthening Belt and Road Initiative, negotiation of additional bilateral or multilateral Free Trade Agreements (signing of Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership among fifteen Asia-Pacific countries including China to replace US-sponsored dysfunctional Trans-Pacific Partnership is one such example) and taking advantage of its free trade zones and ports are also on the cards to ensure parallel development of the internal and external economy.

China achieved miraculous annual GDP growth at devastating environmental costs. Suffocating urban centres, rapid desertification and fast-deteriorating quality of potable water had once become the new normal in China, but ambitious and aggressive plans underpinned by meticulously-detailed action course of action in the 13th Five-Year Plan brought tremendous improvement in the ecology and environment.



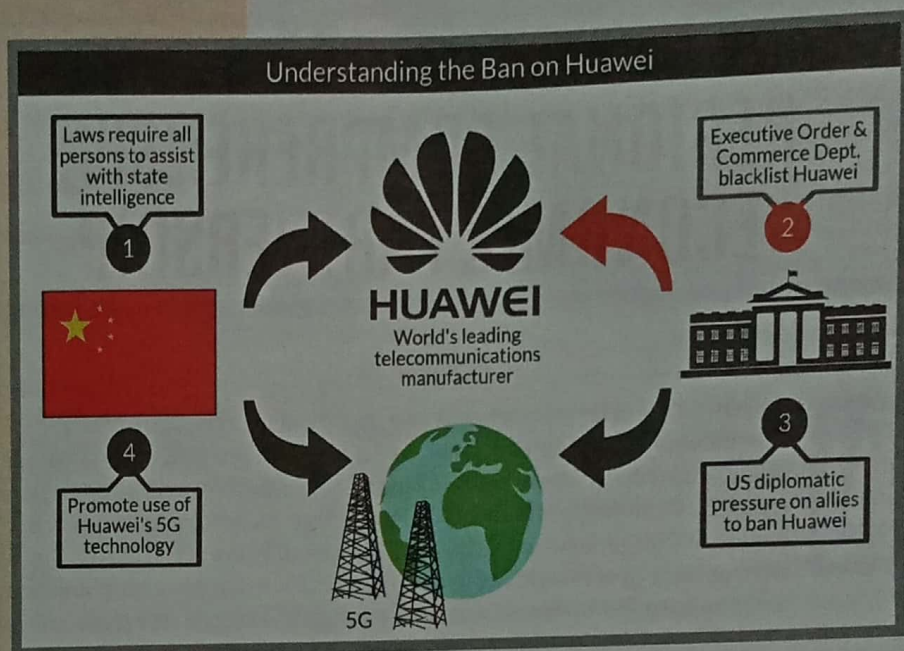
Carbon dioxide (CO<sub>2</sub>) emissions dropped by 48% in 2019, thereby reducing 5.6 billion tons of CO<sub>2</sub>, 11.92 billion tons of Sulphur Dioxide (SO<sub>2</sub>), and 11.3 billion tons of NO (Nitric oxide) as compared to 2005 (Global Times; 2020/10/27). Eight of nine objectives related to environmental protection were met ahead of

schedule in the 13th FYP that helped improve the overall condition of particulate matter. Most importantly, ecological civilization construction that is economic, political, agricultural, and educational and other societal reforms proved one of the most outstanding contributions of China to global climate governance. The 14th FYP has built on earlier ecological accomplishments, further enlarging state interventions to build a beautiful China by 2035. China has adopted vigorous measures to peak CO<sub>2</sub> emissions by 2030 and achieve carbon neutrality before 2060. To effect this ambitious goal, China has planned to increase the proportion of non-fossil energy in primary energy consumption, raise the share of the services industry in the national economy and improve the energy efficiency of all sectors. Efficient energy and resource allocation to ensure impact and resource decoupling, implementation of environment-friendly policies like water, soil, and land conservation action plans; green finance, green technological innovation and green transformation of key industries; clean, efficient and low-carbon energy production; green infrastructure are some



of the key priority areas where China is counting on to meet its Intended Nationally Determined Contribution agreed under Paris Agreement and ensure environmental sustainability. As Biden, the president-elect of the United States, has promised to rejoin Paris Climate Accord on the first day of his presidency, and China is setting ambitious climate change-countering targets, the environmentalists are all optimistic that the world will definitely demonstrate some progress to meet targets set under Paris Agreement mechanism. China, if were able to implement its ecological goals, the global warming projections would be lowered by 0.2°C to 0.3°C, which will be the biggest contribution by any single country. The advent of President Xi's era marked a significant departure from the decades-old policy of concentrating on developing internal capabilities and avoiding confrontation courses with the rest of the world, particularly with Western countries. President Xi, through a series of diplomatic and economic initiatives, is attempting to secure China's hegemonic role in Asia-Pacific by challenging US predominance in regional affairs. The well-crafted foreign policy of China to ensure an exclusive sphere of influence in the Asia Pacific region has earned the ire of the US and resulted in publically-acknowledged tech and trade war between China and USA. The tumultuous tenure of President Trump proved particularly alarming for both economies and his whimsical behaviour led the bilateral ties to the point of almost no return, thereby roiling international markets, igniting tit-for-tat economic and diplomatic sanctions, and politicizing the world's fight against Covid-19 pandemic. The Five-Year Plan, although does not explicitly mention the US, it does highlight 'heightened international tension' as hindrances in the sustained growth of the Chinese economy. The officials of CPC have criticized the decoupling of the US and China economy and termed it as unrealistic and destabilizing for world economic order. As a remedy to 'heightened international tension', FYP envisions improving bilateral ties and further opening up of China's economy, thereby offering business opportunities to foreign markets to address the international concerns and reservations. Now that Joe Biden, the internationalist and liberalist president-elect, is set to swear in as the 46th president of the USA, the

world can expect, quite rightly, the calming down of the tension between the world's largest economies. Though Joe Biden will feel constrained and hobbled by well-permeated Trumpism in US society, he will certainly find some common grounds like international climate governance and fight against Covid-19 to turn the open hostilities into a competition that bodes well for international peace and security. Opening up Chinese domestic markets under Dual Circulation policy, strengthening the investment under the Belt and Road Initiative (CPEC is the flagship project of BRI), further widening the poverty alleviation efforts and scaling up the fight against climate change are areas that must be given topmost priority by Pakistan's policymakers as well. The upcoming 10th Joint Cooperation Committee on CPEC is taking place amidst an ongoing paradigm shift



in Chinese development model. Pakistani interlocutors must undertake comprehensive homework of China's transition to high-quality growth and prepare five-year plans in order to accrue maximum advantages from the 14th Five-Year Plan. In this regard, strengthening the cooperation under Joint Working Groups for technology and science and socio-economic development (with special emphasis on poverty alleviation), creation of an independent JWG for Climate Change, further expansion of Free Trade Agreement to have duty-free access of more Pakistani products to Chinese markets in order to benefit from Dual Circulation approach should be given cardinal consideration by our policymakers. ■

*The writer is a graduate of the University of Agriculture, Faisalabad. He writes on national and international affairs.*





## REGIONAL COMPREHENSIVE ECONOMIC PARTNERSHIP

Magazine Desk

**N**ovember 15 will be remembered as a historic day in the history of the world in general, and of Asia in particular, as on this day, ten ASEAN nations, plus five other Asia-Pacific countries – China, Japan, South Korea, New Zealand and Australia – entered into the world's largest free-trade agreement aptly named as Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP). This is the world's biggest trade deal in terms of GDP which is expected to drive economic growth in a region hard-hit by the coronavirus pandemic. The new free trade zone will be bigger than both the US-Mexico-Canada Agreement and the European Union.

The deal excludes the United States and India—the former withdrew from a rival Asia-Pacific trade pact in 2017 whereas the latter pulled out last year over concerns that lower tariffs could hurt local producers. The US is absent from RCEP and the 11-nation Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) deal that US President Donald Trump pulled out of shortly after taking office. This leaves the world's biggest economy out of two trade groups that span the fastest-growing region on earth.

### Background

The RCEP, which includes a mix of high-, middle and low-income countries, was conceived at the 2011 ASEAN Summit held in Bali, Indonesia, while its negotiations were formally launched during the 2012 ASEAN Summit in Cambodia. Representatives from the RCEP signatory states first gathered to negotiate the RCEP in November 2012. After an arduous eight-year negotiation period, a combination of factors such as slowing global growth, disruption to trade patterns, and US shift away from multilateralism, mobilized participating governments to push ahead with the pact despite long-standing differences. Initially, India was also part of those negotiations, but it indicated in late 2019 that it had a number of issues, preventing it from joining the agreement. The grouping has, however, left the door open for its future entry. However, even without India, RCEP will still be the world's largest free trade agreement.

On November 15, fifteen Asia-Pacific countries agreed to form the world's largest free trade bloc, encompassing nearly a third of all economic activity. Dubbed as the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP), this momentous pact was signed virtually on the sidelines of the annual summit of the 10-nation Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). RCEP will take already low tariffs on trade between member countries still lower, over time. It will account for 30 percent of the global economy, 30 percent of the global population and reach 2.2 billion consumers. The pact is seen as an extension of China's influence in the region.



### Membership

The landmark agreement consists of 15 countries: 10 member states of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), China, Japan, South Korea, Australia, and New Zealand. ASEAN members include Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, Myanmar, the Philippines, Thailand, Brunei, Singapore, Malaysia and Vietnam.

### What does it do?

RCEP is a modern and comprehensive free trade agreement, covering trade in goods, trade in services, investment, economic and technical cooperation, and new rules for electronic commerce, intellectual property, government procurement, competition and small- and medium-sized enterprises.

The primary aim of the RCEP is to establish a comprehensive economic partnership - building on existing bilateral ASEAN agreements within the region with its FTA partners. It will be guided by a common set of rules and standards, lowered trade barriers, streamlined processes,

and improved market access.

For investors, RCEP will deliver substantial new trade and investment opportunities within the participating countries - covering roughly 30 percent of the global GDP (US\$26.2 trillion) and 30 percent of the world's population to form Asia's largest trade bloc to date.

### Details of the RCEP agreement

The RCEP agreement includes 20 chapters covering many of the articles typically found in a free trade agreement. Notably, it makes significant strides by way of harmonizing the rules of origin and strengthening IP measures. But some critics have pointed to the weaker commitments for e-commerce and the omission of a labour and environment protection clause, when compared with the CPTPP.

#### 1. Common rules of origin

One of the most significant changes under RCEP is that the rules of origin will be unified for the entire bloc. This will mean that investors will only require one certificate of origin for trading in the region and can bypass the tedious processes of checking and adjusting to the specific rule of origin criteria in each country. When implemented, investors can expect lower costs, added flexibility and regional supply chains streamlined.

#### 2. Trade in goods - reduced tariffs

Under RCEP, tariffs will be eliminated on around 92 percent of goods implemented progressively over the next 20 years, in accordance with each party's Schedule of Tariff Commitments. This will allow participating countries to gain preferential market access with each other. However, some agricultural and sensitive goods will be excluded from these tariff reductions.

#### 3. Trade in goods - simplified customs procedure

Simplified customs procedures and enhanced trade facilitation provisions will allow efficient administration of procedures and expeditious clearance of goods, including the release of express consignments and perishable goods within six hours of arrival.

#### 4. Trade in services

Under RCEP, at least 65 percent of the services sector will be fully open to foreign investors, with commitments to raise the ceiling for foreign shareholding limits in various industries, such as

## Asia-Pacific countries sign world's biggest free trade deal

15 countries in the Asia-Pacific region have signed the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP), the world's biggest free trade deal





professional services, telecommunications, financial services, computer services, and distribution and logistics services.

Not unlike the negative list system in China, RCEP will also take on a 'negative-list' approach where the market will be fully open to foreign service suppliers, unless it appears on the list. This ensures transparency of regulations and measures which will allow greater certainty for businesses.

#### 5. Investment

RCEP eases the process required of investors entering, expanding or operating in RCEP countries. It also prevents the adoption of further restrictive measures and includes a built-in investor-state dispute settlement mechanism that can be evoked by the member states.

#### 6. Intellectual protection

RCEP raises the standards of IP protection and enforcement in all participating countries. Aside from securing the protection rights for copyright and trademark in the normal sense, it also goes further to protect non-traditional trademarks (sound marks, wider range of industrial designs) and forms of digital copyright, which goes beyond what was included in the CPTPP.

#### 7. E-commerce

The agreement covers areas, such as online consumer protection, online personal information protection, transparency, paperless trading and acceptance of electronic signatures. It also includes commitments on cross-border data flows. This provides a more conducive digital trade environment for businesses and provides for greater access to RCEP markets.

#### 8. Government procurement

Participating RCEP countries have committed to publish laws, regulations and procedures regarding government procurement, as well as tender opportunities if available. This allows greater transparency for businesses to pursue government procurement market opportunities in the region. RCEP have also committed to a review aimed at improving this in future.

#### Economic Significance

RCEP will connect about 30% of the world's people and output and, in the right political context, will generate significant gains. According to computer simulations, RCEP could add \$209 billion annually to world incomes, and \$500 billion to world trade by 2030. It is estimated that RCEP and CPTPP together will offset global losses from the US-China trade war, although not for China and the United States. The new agreements will make the economies of North and Southeast Asia more efficient, linking their strengths in technology, manufacturing, agriculture and natural resources. The effects of RCEP are impressive even though the

agreement is not as rigorous as the CPTPP. It incentivizes supply chains across the region but also caters to political sensitivities. Its intellectual property rules add little to what many members have in place, and the agreement says nothing at all about labour, the environment, or state-owned enterprises — all key chapters in the CPTPP. However, ASEAN-centered trade agreements tend to improve over time.

Southeast Asia will benefit significantly from RCEP (\$19 billion annually by 2030) but less so than Northeast Asia because it already has free trade agreements with RCEP partners. But RCEP could improve access to Chinese Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) funds, enhancing gains from



market access by strengthening transport, energy and communications links. RCEP's favourable rules of origin will also attract foreign investment.

#### Geopolitical Significance

RCEP, often labelled inaccurately as "China-led," is a triumph of ASEAN's middle-power diplomacy. The value of a large, East Asian trade agreement has long been recognized, but neither China nor Japan, the region's largest economies, were politically acceptable as architects for the project. The stalemate was resolved in 2012 by an ASEAN-brokered deal that included India, Australia and New Zealand as members, and put ASEAN in charge of negotiating the agreement. Without such "ASEAN



centrality," RCEP might never have been launched.

### A Coup for China?

While China is party to a number of bilateral trade agreements, this is the first time it has signed up to a regional multilateral trade pact. Many analysts believe that the RCEP is a coup for China, by far the biggest market in the region with more than 1.3 billion people, allowing Beijing to cast itself as a "champion of globalisation and multilateral cooperation" and giving it greater influence over rules governing regional trade. This is evidenced by the remarks made by Chinese Premier Li Keqiang's after the virtual signing. He said, "It clearly shows that multilateralism is the right way, and represents the right direction of the global economy and humanity's progress." The deal also solidifies China's broader regional geopolitical ambitions around the Belt and Road initiative.

### RCEP and the China-US Trade Ties

Even though the talks for RCEP started in 2012, it assumed a greater importance after US President Donald Trump walked out of the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP), a multilateral trade deal that could have been as big as RCEP.

China and the US have been locked in a trade battle for years now. Washington has targeted Chinese tech giant Huawei, which wants to play a lead role in the upcoming 5G mobile networks. One of the sticking points in the economic relations of the world's two largest economies has to do with the state of protection around intellectual

## RCEP: Asia-Pacific Forms World's Largest Trade Bloc

Total 2019 GDP of member countries  
of selected regional free trade agreements



property rights in China—American firms often accuse Chinese counterparts of stealing their technology. In any multilateral trade deal, the US would obviously want a stringent implementation of intellectual property protection. RCEP doesn't take any concrete stance on these rights. Similarly, RCEP doesn't set any benchmarks for how labour and environment issues should be dealt with.

### Conclusion

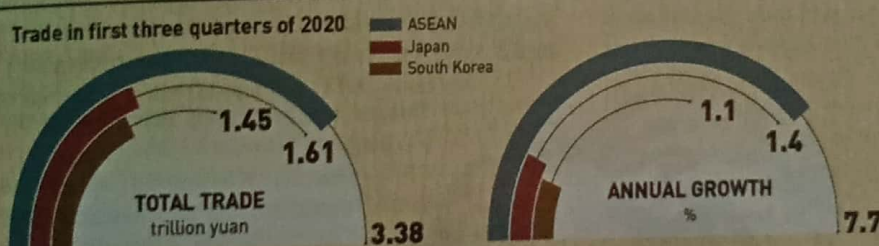
The 21st century is inexorably shaping up to become the golden era of the Asia-Pacific region's economic cooperation, multilateralism and progress, while the world's still biggest but now troubled economy has in recent years

fallen backward into perilous protectionism and unilateralism.

In the current context of sluggish worldwide economic growth amid the Covid-19 pandemic, the signing of the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership during the Association of Southeast Asian Nations Summit chaired by Vietnam is big, positive news that will boost early regional economic recovery and global stability. ■

## CHINA'S TRADE WITH RCEP COUNTRIES ALREADY SIGNIFICANT

Trade in first three quarters of 2020



Source: General Administration of Customs

## COMPARISON OF FREE TRADE ZONES





# American Presidential Election and Democracy



Looking for change and moral and intellectual leadership



## Presidential Election in Stained Democracy

When false claims challenge the truth, fearful and ferocious public outcomes are bred. No wonder, why the American masses are more divided today than any time in recent history.

American presidential elections 2020 failed to produce a viable prospect for the working of democracy. The nation is entrenched in an unending political crisis, more of opinions than substantial truth and reality. Opinions vary but truth is not transient and adaptable. American democracy appears to be unfolding many fault lines of time and historic consequences, and being unable to see the reality beyond the obvious. Former President Obama recently published his memoirs: "The Promised Land," emphasizing the distinction between the truth and the falsehood as if he had the current presidential elections in focus.

At issue is the human character, leadership's sense of responsibility and honesty, human equality, hopes for justice and truth-digging. American masses are fast embracing the fear of an uncertain political future that could deplete the human patience and raise the threats of greater vulnerability to chaos and political darkness to sort out realism. President Trump claims that 2020 elections were rigged and/or were "fraudulent," and alleged false vote count in certain states. Joe Biden (President-elect) views a fair and accountable process of the current presidential elections and its results, as approximately 76 million Americans voted for him to be the next President of the United States of America. His voice of reasoning and legitimacy rests in "We the People," the core value of the US constitution and Declaration of Independence. Not so, President Trump is challenging this notion in many states, calling for recount of votes and simultaneously echoing

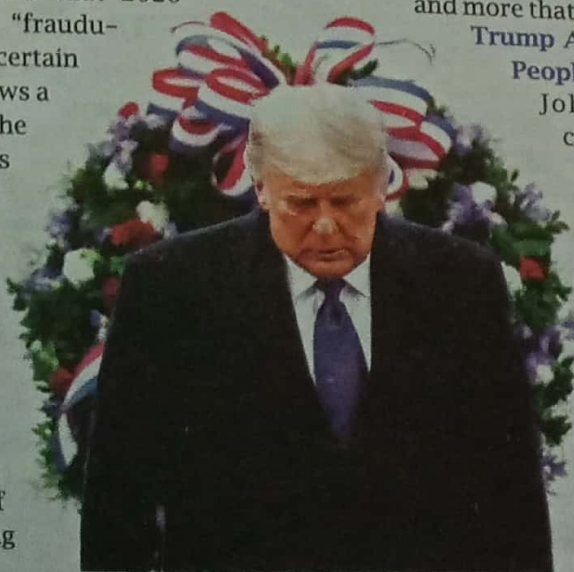
accusations of a 'fraudulent and stolen election'. All of the 50 American states and other territories have systematic plans in place for local, regional and federal elections. Undoubtedly, competitive elections create contradictions, new challenges, hatred and conflicts, and they often undermine the conception of goodness, virtue and honesty.

Once the process is over, competent, intelligent and proactive leaders heal the masses and workout unity of thoughts and coherent agenda for reconciliation and unity of minds for a better future. In their victory speech, Joe Biden and Kamala Harris did exactly that to console the American people as elected President and Vice President of all the American masses. The normality of transition of power to the elected president is in jeopardy as the Trump administration refuses to certify the outcomes and the President-elect encounters immense problems to plan for the future, not just to deal with Covid-19 pandemic and its dreadful impacts, but also how to carve out a smooth, sustainable future for the American people. Trump's own task force paints a dire situation: "aggressive and unrelenting Covid-19" pandemic across America. The US news media reports that more than 251,000 Americans have died and more that 11 millions affected by the pandemic.

## Trump Administration Playing with "We the People"

John W. Whitehead, an American constitutional attorney and an author of 'Battlefield America: The War on the America People', offers this latest assessment in his piece, "End the Government's War on America's Military Veterans."

The 2020 presidential election may be over, but nothing has really changed ... the US government still poses the greatest threat to our freedoms. More than terrorism, more than domestic extremism, more than gun violence and





organized crime, even more than the perceived threat posed by any single politician, the US government remains a greater menace to the life, liberty and property of its citizens than any of the so-called dangers from which the government claims to protect us.

Wickedness and piety cannot be combined in one human character. Trump inflicted disharmony and racial discrimination amongst the black and indigenous and coloured population. What about absolute power instigated by absolute-minded maniac leaders regardless of the democratic principles? President Trump has fired Christopher Krebs, Director Cyber Security and Infrastructure Security Agency (CISA), for telling the truth that presidential elections were fair and without any security breach or fraudulent intervention. Earlier, Trump had fired his Defense Secretary, Mark Esper, for opposing the withdrawal of US troops from Afghanistan and launching an attack on Iran. President Trump could have learned from President Putin; he resolved successfully the prolonged Nagorno-Karabakh problem between Azerbaijan and Armenia. There is always inconsistency in a delusional mind and so is Trump paranoid and vengeful who has incapacitated the

inborn faculties of American lifelines to be morally and intellectually crippled and more of a besieged nation in its conduct of basic tenets of the American liberty, justice and democracy. This was not accidental, but a planned scheme of things although unknown in its short- and long-term consequences over its ability to cope with the change phenomenon for a sustainable future. America under Trump became an insane—a victim of its own obsession with power and fearful of its future. America appears to be on threshold of an unavoidable moral and intellectual transition of reasoning, but it is not following through the rational process of change and future-making. The Washington-based war culture has incapacitated the US policymakers to think rationally and act responsibly in global affairs. Strange as is, President Trump and his advisors cannot explain why every day 18–25 US war veterans commit suicide? Trump claimed "America First" but acted as if "Trump cult" was preferred and chosen value and nothing beyond that spectrum towards conception of goodness and sincerity to the American national interest. He favoured Israel's Netanyahu over America. When asked about the peaceful transfer of power, Secretary of State Mike Pompeo responded, "Yes, there will be a smooth transfer of power to a second Trump presidency." Is Pompeo Trump's 'puppy'? Across America, morality and intellect appear to be in a shallow laughing stock. One wonders, how the conscientious and informed global community will view such a threshold of disingenuous and wicked "Trump cult" behaviour. America is in desperate need of political change,

national unity, harmony and a coherent transition process to replace disunity, hatred, turmoil and missing consciousness of viable democracy. Trump's refusal to recognize Joe Biden as an elected President seems unexcitable shadow without moral and intellectual force or feeling—a kind of dead-ended unconscious human behaviour generating formidable, historic problems for a democratic America. Could Joe Biden learn from Trump's negligence and offer a hope for change and better global relationships with countries including Russia and China and the Arab Middle East?

#### "We the People" Agenda for Joe Biden

1. Be the leader of all America as you claim to be and listen to voices of REASON, even the dull and ignorant—they all have a story to tell. Dignity of moral values and tranquility of temperament should be the characteristic of sustainable wisdom for official policies and practices.

2. Focused mind is more powerful than all the advanced weapons and machinery. Yes, Covid-19 pandemic is a critical issue to be dealt with cautiously and scientifically for the good of the masses.

3. Trump neglected advice and reasoning in all official endeavours. He opted for transgressors, killers and morally corrupt rulers across the globe. You will have the opportunity and time to take corrective actions to enhance human equality, human rights—be it in Kashmir, Palestine, Myanmar or elsewhere, and take initiative to legislate changes to ensure participation of indigenous, black and people of colour as equal citizens in American political system.

4. Be conscious of your leadership's strengths and weaknesses and be aware of the people around you, as well as your political manoeuvrability. Do not engage in any hybrid culture—part human and part inhuman. You take oath in the name of God, The Merciful, The Beneficent, and the art of leading mankind is being part of mankind on a living universe and Earth as we are accountable for all of our commitments and pursuits.

5. Be a peacemaker, not a warmonger, as there is much evil and much good in the creed of human optimism. True leaders create new leaders and always listen and accept readily intelligent advice from people of knowledge and wisdom. Every beginning has its end as America is at the conclusion of an unpredictable age, not the end of world. Your vision and leadership initiatives could reframe the historic time for a progressive and changing America for the best of people and humanity. ■

*Dr Mahboob A. Khawaja is the author of several publications including the latest: Global Peace, Security and Conflict Resolution: Approaches to Understand the Current Issues and Future-Making.*





# Biden gives

# "America is back"

## message with his Cabinet picks

US President-elect Joe Biden wants to give an "America is back" message by nominating key names to foreign policy and diplomacy

Willing to reverse outgoing President Donald Trump's "America first" policy and to return to the "global leadership" position, Biden aims to regain the trust of US allies in the international arena



Joe Biden



Secretary of state  
Antony Blinken

Studied law at Harvard University and Columbia University

He was a member of the former President Bill Clinton's National Security Council in 1994-2001

Worked with Biden at the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in 2002-2008

Served as the deputy national security advisor to former President Barack Obama

Became then-Vice President Biden's national security advisor during Obama's first term of presidency

In 2015-2017, he served as the deputy secretary of state

He was a foreign policy advisor to Biden and then-Vice Presidential nominee Kamala Harris during their 2020 election campaign

### OTHER NAMES EXPECTED TO BE INCLUDED IN BIDEN'S CABINET



US ambassador to the UN  
Linda Thomas-Greenfield

Worked as a career diplomat at the US State Department for 35 years

She served as the US Ambassador to Liberia in 2008-2012



National security advisor  
Jake Sullivan

He also served as a national security advisor during Biden's vice presidency

He was the chief negotiator in Iran nuclear talks



National intelligence director  
Avril Haines

Worked as the former deputy director of CIA and deputy national security advisor under the Obama administration



Homeland security secretary  
Alejandro Mayorkas

He was the deputy homeland security secretary during Obama's presidency



Treasury secretary  
Janet Yellen

Served as the chair of the Federal Reserve (Fed) in 2014-2018



Special presidential envoy for climate  
John Kerry

Served as the secretary of state under the Obama administration



White House chief of staff  
Ron Klain

Has worked with Biden in various positions since 1988

He will also serve as Biden's senior advisor



# The Indo-US Connivance Against China

Containment of the Dragon is the goal



The world can clearly witness an unrelenting struggle of the world's sole superpower, i.e. the United States, to contain China. In fact, emergence of the dragon on the world stage and the tough competition it has given to the West in all spheres; economic, political, and strategic, appears to have rattled the US policymakers. The US has taken China as its key rival and has been directing considerable energies and efforts to contain China's rapid surge in order to keep the world order that it leads intact. The Indo-Pacific region is seen as the main battleground in this China-containment policy. Although the Indo-Pacific region has become a pivotal geopolitical location today, the shift of US's focus from the Middle East to Asia can be traced back to Obama's first term as President of the United States. In this regard, in November 2011, Hillary Clinton, the then-Secretary of State, delivered a policy speech at East-West Center, Honolulu, Hawaii, whereby she maintained that America will continue to play a leader's role in the region and that the 21st century will be 'America's Pacific century.' She said:

*"And just as the United States played a central role in shaping that architecture across the Atlantic—to ensure that it worked, for us and for everyone else—we are now doing the same across the Pacific. The 21st century will be America's Pacific century, a period of unprecedented outreach and partnership in this dynamic, complex and consequential region. Now this goal is not ours alone. It is one that many across the region hold. I have heard from many different counterparts across the Asia Pacific an urgent desire for American leadership, which has brought benefits to this region already for decades."*

It is evident from the developments as well as the US engagements with India during the past decade or so that America's grand strategy towards China is primarily to achieve a 'balance of power in Asia.' This is evidenced by the Indo-US strategic partnership that has soared to an unprecedented level during the recent years. According to the realist paradigm, of which balance of power is a part, states tend to enter in alliances to maintain balance of power, especially if they are entangled in contest with more powerful or potentially challenging adversary.

Mustansar Hussain Tasir

As a rationale for the said policy, Ms Clinton demoted two main "challenges facing the Asia-Pacific ... that demand America's leadership, from ensuring freedom of navigation in the South China Sea to countering North Korea's provocations and proliferation activities to promoting balanced and inclusive economic growth." Predicting the shift of power to Asia with the presence of world's rising economies, Ms Clinton asserted, *"It is becoming increasingly clear that, in the 21st century, the world's strategic and economic centre of gravity will be the Asia-Pacific, from the Indian subcontinent to western shores of the Americas."*

Her remarks clearly indicate that the policy of rebalancing was, in effect, meant to deal with China's rise as US policymakers have long believed that the territorial disputes in the South China Sea are a strategic opportunity for the US to cast Beijing as a bullying and aggressive rising power and themselves as the indispensable guardians of regional order and international law. South China Sea is one of the many fronts of America's China-containment policy. The US wants a greater role for India in the region and beyond, and is investing its unwavering trust and massive resources for that. During the same period, the US and India accelerated their partnership which culminated during president Obama's 2010 speech in Indian parliament where he expressed, *"Firm belief that the relationship between the United States and India—bound by our shared interests and values—will be one of the defining partnerships of the 21st century."* Obama's 2010 visit was of great significance as the US president unprecedentedly endorsed and ensured support for India's bid to become a permanent member of the United Nations Security



Council (UNSC) for a "just and sustainable international order." It was being seen by observers, even Americans, as a part of America's policy to favour India not only to reap commercial gains but also to check the influence of an increasingly assertive China.

More recently, President Trump's announcement was self-explanatory of his policy on China and evidently he was the first president who was so explicit about US policy of containment. He made it clear that if he were elected as the president, he would be in competition with China on all fronts. He made the people realize that it is China that is responsible for America's many problems, especially its economic decline. So, he portrayed himself as a warrior against China to bring back the snatched US jobs and protect American interests to 'Make America's Great Gain'. These efforts now are very much on the surface demonstrating that the United States and China have fallen into a new cold war in which India is being used as a pawn. To become a reliable counterweight to China, the US wants India to become a dominant power in Asia. Hillary Clinton, even before her aforementioned speech, wrote in one of her articles "America's Pacific Century" that "the United States is making a strategic bet on India's future," because, she opined, "India's greater role on the world stage will enhance peace and security." The words speak for themselves; the fast-growing partnership between India and China is not merely for bilateral gains but China dominated their policy calculations as a common factor.

But it is not the US only that wants to use India to achieve its strategic and political objectives vis-à-vis China, but Indians also want America to play a tangible role against its powerful rival. The situation has taken a serious turn especially after Indo-Chinese recent border standoffs leading to the deadly clashes. And this is where the interests of India and the US have converged dramatically.

The American and anti-China Indian experts have been presenting various policy options available to India to counter, or balance, China that is using its economic clout in achieving political and strategic objectives in the region that are, according to analysts, necessarily detrimental to Indian interests. They want Indian policymakers to come

clear of their strategy on China. Chinese threat is being magnified and the coming "grossly unbalanced strategic environment" of the region is projected to move India. This is a part of greater campaign to make India never think again of its so-called "non-alignment" policy by portraying that this policy is no more favourable to India's rise under the shadow of such a powerful competitor. So, given Asia's current balance of power, India's strategic interests would likely be best served by a closer alignment with the United States.

Among many earlier agreements of multifaceted cooperation, the recently-linked defence deal called Basic Exchange and Cooperation Agreement (BECA) between India and the United States is the manifestation of strategic choices both nations are making to deal with China. Experts believe that BECA is a geopolitical or geospatial cooperation to deal primarily about sensitive satellite data and information. The agreement is a big development and would have ramifications on the region's strategic balance. So, the US, in its attempt to counterbalance China through India, is dead set to disturb strategic balance in this region.

The rapid upward trajectory of cordiality between India and the United States has become a cause of serious concern for China and Pakistan owing to their history of friction and hostility with India. The US is now molycoddling India not only directly but also through its allies such as Japan, Israel, Australia and other smaller regional actors. The US strategy is to help India strike a balance of power in Asia and to act as a regional hegemon. The US wants to protect its interest in the region through India with minimum direct

engagement. This strategy will work or not as per America's plans depends on how far Indians can go to fulfil American dreams of containing China's rise as a parallel superpower at world stage. ■

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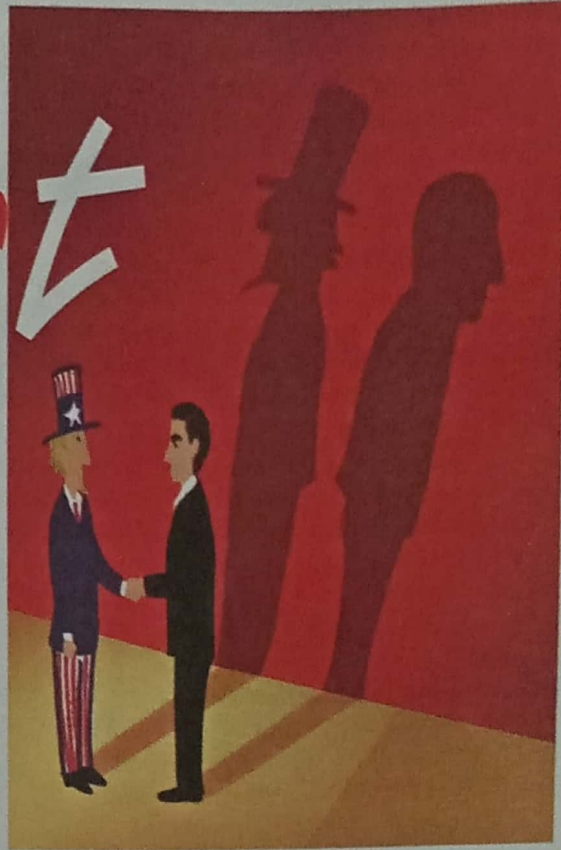


# The BECA Pact

During the third round of 2+2 Ministerial Dialogue between India and the United States, both countries signed Basic Exchange and Cooperation Agreement on Geospatial Information, or BECA, whereby the US has allowed India access to a range of sensitive geospatial and aeronautical data that is crucial for military action. Under the agreement, the United States will provide advanced navigational aids and avionics on US-supplied aircraft to India. It also means that the US can fit high-end navigational equipment in the aircraft it supplies to India. It is important to note here that BECA is among the few deals that the US signs with close partners. That two of America's most senior officials—Secretary of Defence Mark Esper and Secretary of State Mike Pompeo—travelled in person to meet their counterparts during times of Covid, and a week before the US presidential vote, is an indication of just how important these talks were.



In what is being widely viewed as a progressive officialising of India's fealty to the United States, the two sides, on October 27, signed the fourth and final 'foundational military pact' called the Basic Exchange and Cooperation Agreement for Geospatial Information (BECA). During the 2+2 Dialogue, held between US Secretary of Defence Mark Esper and Secretary of State Mike Pompeo, on one side, and India's Defence Minister Rajnath Singh and Foreign Minister S. Jaishankar, on the other, the two sides also signed a clutch of other deals in the fields of nuclear energy, earth sciences and alternative medicine. But BECA is the most significant deal among them as it will allow India access geospatial data from US military satellites which can be applied to its missile and defence technologies. The information that the two countries will exchange will include both classified and unclassified data—maps, topographical images and military coordinates. The information exchange also covers nautical and aeronautical charts, commercial and other unclassified imagery, geophysical, geomagnetic and gravity data.



Muhammad Sheraz

## Is China the target?

Experts believe that the strengthening of India-US ties is aimed at countering China's influence in the region. The US Indo-Pacific Strategy aimed at containing China has made some progress with the signing of BECA. The agreement will not only support Indian military activity on its border with Pakistan and China but will also provide India with accurate information on Chinese Navy's movement in the Indian Ocean. The timing of the agreement is also remarkable as it has come at a time when India is locked in one of its most hostile standoffs with China along their disputed border in the Himalayan region. Twenty Indian soldiers were killed in a clash that erupted between troops on both sides in June this year, sparking months-long rounds of diplomatic talks to ease tensions. But that has not helped to de-escalate hostilities so far.

The US seems to have sensed an opportunity in the India-China border standoff and wants to further raise its profile in the region. The BECA is being seen as a signal to China that Washington considers Delhi a close military ally. The US military help that could improve the accuracy of Indian weapons amid the China-India border standoff will make the pulses of some already excited Indian forces beat faster, and India is likely to stir up more and bigger troubles along the China-India border to aggravate the border situation. But there is absolutely no chance for India to reverse the reality of the military power gap between China and India, not to mention defeating China.



in possible military conflicts.

Commenting on real US motives behind this agreement, *Global Times*, a mouthpiece of the Chinese government wrote: "The US has adjusted its China policy and tried to exploit gains from every possible means. Such a strategic impulse can be explained by its hegemonic logic. But if Washington is serious in waging a new cold war against China, it is bound to meet a dead end. India's selfish opportunism is exacerbating due to its border disputes with China. Together with its extreme nationalistic opinion among its public, New Delhi is at sea. What does India really want? What goals are realistic and what are not? What can India get by pressuring China together with the US? New Delhi is lost. Many Indians were moved when Pompeo and Esper paid tribute to Indian soldiers who died in the Galwan Valley. But did the Indians ever think why? US senior officials have not even paid tribute to the 220,000 Americans who died of Covid-19. Now they come to India to offer condolences to Indian troops at a war memorial. It is nothing but a Greek gift."

#### India's Servility to the United States

Although Modi government has touted that BECA will help India strike military targets with its missiles and bombs with greater precision and that it will also help India upgrade and improve its maps, the reality is that by signing BECA, India has potentially mortgaged the digitised military



capability of its three services - army, air force and navy - to the United States. What prompted the Modi government to take this mindlessly suicidal extreme step, considering India is neither a US military ally nor has it received any commitment that the US military would fight its wars? Tanvi Madan, a senior fellow at the Brookings Institution, suggests the answer. On the eve of the BECA signing, she tweeted, "Arguably without Doklam and Ladakh crisis, India would not have got to yes on COMCASA or reportedly BECA."

India has cut off its nose to spite the Chinese by flaunting untested strategic ties with the US, in the hope that US geospatial intelligence and real-time images datasets

would help the accuracy of India's long range firepower comprising its cruise missiles, multi-barrel rocket systems and probably the Russian S-400 air defence missile system once it joins the inventory. The huge volume of US datasets from diverse sensors would come to Indian command centres through the special COMCASA equipment. Since good quality, real-time datasets are the new ammunition of digitised warfare, this can be platformed quickly (perhaps using US-assisted Artificial Intelligence) to both the armed drones being procured from the US as well as other weapon platforms with the three services for precise stand-off firepower.

On the face of it, this would be great. But deep down, India has created space for the US to exercise widespread malefic activities on the cyber front, should it so decide. Malicious cyber activities do not happen only through cyberspace, but through systems too. These include computer software, embedded processors, routers, all



wired and wireless transmission, controllers and so on. While systems are accessed through cyberspace, there are other paths that cyber warriors can use to introduce egregious errors into computer systems without using the internet.

#### Russia is watching

The BECA is being taken as a step forward in deepening India-US military ties. India is one of the world's biggest defence equipment buyers, but around 60-70% of its inventory is supplied by Russia but it, reportedly, saw its share of defence exports to India fall from 72 to 38 percent over 2015-19. Analysts opine that arms sales to the US are evidently the crux of the BECA, as they seek to





promote military transfers to partner countries as a means to "standardise" their defence systems for easing interoperability. This has been articulated by many a US official; as for instance R. Clarke Cooper, Assistant Secretary, Bureau of Political-Military (PM) Affairs. Speaking on 5 October on 'Aligning Arms Sales in the Indo-Pacific with US Great Power Competition Objectives', he maintained that as the US partners and allies could not be expected to stand up to China on their own, it was necessary to create an interoperable network with them, so as to enhance their security capabilities through arms sales and security assistance processes. All this is not lost on Russia which is watching the US-India cooperation cautiously. India will also be mindful of its relations with Russia. So, it will be interesting to see how it balances its military and strategic ties with both Washington and Moscow.

#### **Element of Secrecy**

Despite the openness of American society, where all official decisions and policies are in the public domain, these foundational agreements have been shrouded in secrecy and designated "non-public documents" at the behest of the

Modi administration, which has routinely denied government information to Parliament and the public. This raises the question as to what worries it about these accords that it seeks to keep beyond public scrutiny.

#### **Implications for Pakistan**

China-India stand-off may have impacted Indian readiness to sign BECA with the US. For India, however, Pakistan remains a significant and core concern. Not only Pakistan gets more coverage in the Indian strategic and public discourse it remains central to the planning of

#### **What are Foundational Agreements?**

Foundational agreements are those the US signs with countries it has close military ties with. They have much common ground, meant as they are to build basic groundwork and promote interoperability between militaries by creating common standards and systems. They also guide sales and transfers by the US of high-end technologies, so they have a strong commercial element that clearly advantages the US, by far the world's largest arms exporter.

**Beginning 2016, India has signed three foundational agreements:**

The Logistics Exchange Memorandum of Agreement (LEMOA),  
The Communications Compatibility and Security Agreement (COMCASA) while  
The General Security of Military Information Agreement (GSOMIA) was signed a long time ago.

#### **About GSOMIA**

It was signed in 2002 between India and USA.

GSOMIA paved the way for greater technology cooperation in the military sector.

It allows the sharing of classified information from the US government and American companies with the Government of India and Defence Public Sector Undertakings, but not with Indian private companies.

#### **About LEMOA**

Logistics Exchange Memorandum of Agreement (LEMOA) is a logistics support agreement signed in 2016.

It gives both the nations access to each other's military facilities. But it does not make it automatic or obligatory.

It is a tweaked India-specific version of the Logistics Support Agreement (LSA) which the US has with several countries it has close military to military cooperation.

The agreement will primarily cover four areas — port calls, joint exercises, training and Humanitarian Assistance and Disaster Relief. Any other requirement has to be agreed upon by both sides on a case-by-case basis.

#### **About COMCASA**

COMCASA is an India-specific version of the Communication and Information on Security Memorandum of Agreement (CISMOA). It comes into force immediately and is valid for a period of 10 years.

It would facilitate access to advanced defence systems and enable India to utilise its existing US-origin platforms.

COMCASA allows India to procure transfer specialised equipment for encrypted communications for US origin military platforms like the C-17, C-130 and P-8Is.





Indian military force structure. Additionally, Pakistan also becomes relevant to such developments because of the idea of a two-front war scenario with Pakistan and China that is being discussed in India's strategic circles. Pakistan's concerns over the shift in Indian policy to counter-force targeting have been aggravated with Indian access to real-time and accurate data on Pakistan's military infrastructure. India is developing a range of missiles that can be used for counter-force targeting in Pakistan. Real-time data on military targets in Pakistan would increase the lethality and accuracy of Indian missiles such as BrahMos and Nirbhay cruise missiles, Agni III ballistic, and K-15 submarine-launched ballistic missile. Future Indian hypersonic missiles would also benefit from these developments.

Pakistan should seek clarity from the US government over the provisions of BECA and get assurances of not sharing any sensitive data on Pakistan's military infrastructure with India. Although India already has its Intelligence, surveillance and reconnaissance (ISR) capabilities, access to the data from the US will complement those capabilities. Furthermore, sensitive information on the military and other infrastructure of other smaller countries will weaken their military and diplomatic bargaining positions vis-à-vis India. They will have difficult choices to make then on their relations with China and/or to comply with

By signing the last of the four so-called foundational agreements, India has formally become a close defense partner of the US. Making this "soft alliance" meaningful in practice will be more challenging, given that the US military normally collaborates with treaty-based allies.

Brahma Chellaney Strategic thinker

the US and Indian interests in the region.

### Conclusion

With the signing of these strategic agreements, India is getting the status of a US ally fighting against a common enemy. They raise the US expectations from India to act for promoting and protecting the US strategic interests in the Indo-Pacific region. The US administrations want to make India a balancer to China in its Indo-Pacific strategy. However, they have also concerns about the outcome of such efforts due to Indian shortcomings as net security provider when it comes to delivering on the US expectations.

It seems apt to conclude this piece in the words of Prof. Harsh V. Pant who wrote in an article for ORF: "Despite the

rise of China bringing New Delhi closer to Washington, it has been a matter of faith that there's absolutely no possibility of India ever entering into an alliance relationship with the US. It can sign the civil nuclear pact, it can sign foundational defence agreements, it can converge on the Indo-Pacific but it won't ever lead to an alliance relationship. All this merely to underline that such an alliance would lead to India losing its much vaunted strategic autonomy."

This agreement means that India has decided to give up its strategic autonomy and any hope for arriving at a working relationship with China; and entered the great power competition as a US ally. By doing so, it has also relinquished its own claim to be regarded as a great power in its own right and acceded in reality to the role of a junior proxy in the great power game. Only time and history will tell whether this was an opportunistic move by India, which we believe has neither the intent, nor will have the capacity to match China in the foreseeable future. ■

The writer is a member of staff

## INDIA-U.S. DEFENCE TIES

### MAJOR AGREEMENTS AND MECHANISMS:

- 2008 Counter Terrorism Cooperation Initiative
- 2012 Defence Technology and Trade Initiative
- 2015 Framework for the India-U.S. Defence Relationship
- 2016 Joint Strategic Vision for the Asia-Pacific and Indian Ocean Region
- 2016 Logistics Exchange Memorandum of Agreement
- 2016 Framework for the US-India Cyber Relationship
- 2016 Communications Compatibility and Security Agreement
- 2019 Industrial Security Annex
- 2020 Basic Exchange and Cooperation Agreement

### MAJOR DEFENCE EQUIPMENT SOLD TO INDIA:

EQUIPMENT	YEAR OF PURCHASE
C-130J transport aircraft	2008
C-17 transport aircraft	2009
P-8I maritime patrol aircraft	2009
Chinook CH-47 heavy-lift transport helicopters	2015
AH-64E Apache attack helicopters	2015
Harpoon anti-ship missiles	2016
MH-60 Seahawk Maritime helicopters	2020

### MAJOR JOINT EXERCISES:

SERVICE	EXERCISE	COMMENCED IN	FREQUENCY
Army	Yudh Abhyas	2004	Annual
Air Force	Red Flag [Multinational Exercise]	IAF began participating in 2008	Annual-IAF participates once in 5 years
Navy	Malabar	1992	Annual
Special Forces	Vajra Prahar	2012	Intermittent
Tri-service	Tiger Triumph	2018	N.A.

### DIALOGUES:

- 2+2 Ministerial Dialogue
- Defence Policy Group
- Homeland Security Dialogue
- Strategic Intelligence Dialogue
- Cyber Security Dialogue
- Maritime Security Dialogue

Current bilateral defence trade: \$20 billion (since 2005)

### EXISTING DEFENCE TECHNOLOGY COOPERATION:

PROJECT	STATUS
Near term projects	Air-launched Small Unmanned Systems (UAS), Light Weight Small Arms Technology and Intelligence-Surveillance-Targeting & Reconnaissance
Medium-term projects	Maritime Domain Awareness Solution and Virtual Augmented Mixed Reality for Aircraft Maintenance
Long-term projects	Terrain Shaping Obstacle and Counter-UAS, Rocket, Artillery & Mortar (CURAM) system for the Indian Army



# WHAT MACRON WANTS?

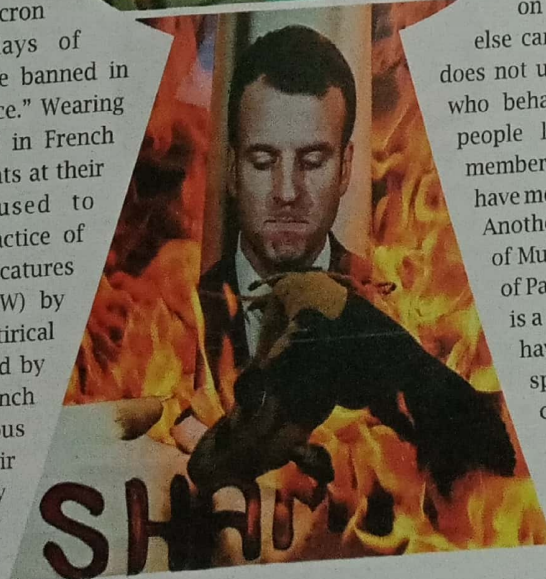
## Freedom of expression or freedom of desecration

Once again, the Muslim world has been deeply saddened and enraged by the heart-wrenching comments of French president Emmanuel Macron about Islam and its adherents. His remarks are the vivid depiction of his prejudice and bias towards more than a billion peace-loving Muslims of the world. He, by passing such anti-Islam rant, rather than uniting his people, has created deep fissures in French society and furthered polarization and Islamophobia.



In his controversial and widely-criticised speech, French president, Emmanuel Macron, has insisted "no concessions"

would be made in a new drive to push religion out of education and the public sector in France. He announced that the government would present a bill in December to strengthen a 1905 law that officially separated the church and the state in France. "The law permits people to belong to any faith of their choosing," Macron said, "but outward displays of religious affiliation would be banned in schools and the public service." Wearing the hijab is already banned in French schools and for public servants at their workplace. He also refused to discourage the repeated practice of publishing blasphemous caricatures of Prophet Muhammad (SAW) by Charlie Hebdo—a French satirical weekly magazine. Encouraged by the head of the state, French people hanged the blasphemous cartoons by the walls of their homes which indubitably amounts to grievous hurt to the sentiments of nearly six



Abdul Rasool Syed  
million Muslims living in France and roughly more than a billion Muslims living all around the world.

Reactively, Muslims all around the globe are registering protests in their respective ways against Macron's malicious and unfounded propaganda against Islam.

In a backlash to Macron's virulent stricture against Islam, Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan commented: "What is the problem of this person called Macron with Muslims and Islam? Macron needs treatment on a mental level." He added: "What else can be said to a head of state who does not understand freedom of belief and who behaves in this way to millions of people living in his country who are members of a different faith? First of all, have mental checks."

Another popular and charismatic leader of Muslim world and the Prime Minister of Pakistan, Imran Khan, tweeted: "This is a time when President Macron could have put healing touch & denied space to extremists rather than creating further polarization & marginalization that inevitably leads to radicalization through encouraging the display of blasphemous cartoons



Making of a law and its implementation are two different and distinct phases of an idea getting traction in governance priorities. Insofar as the lawmaking is concerned, the idea of treating child offenders separately and in more sophisticated manner has been introduced through a second version of the national law. The first version was introduced in the form of the Juvenile Justice System Ordinance, 2000 (JJSO). Repealing the first version, a second version styled as the Juvenile Justice System Act, 2018 (JJSA) has been enacted. For the sake of legal clarity, there is a good cause to examine different aspects of the latest version, i.e. JJSA:

### 1. Constitutionality

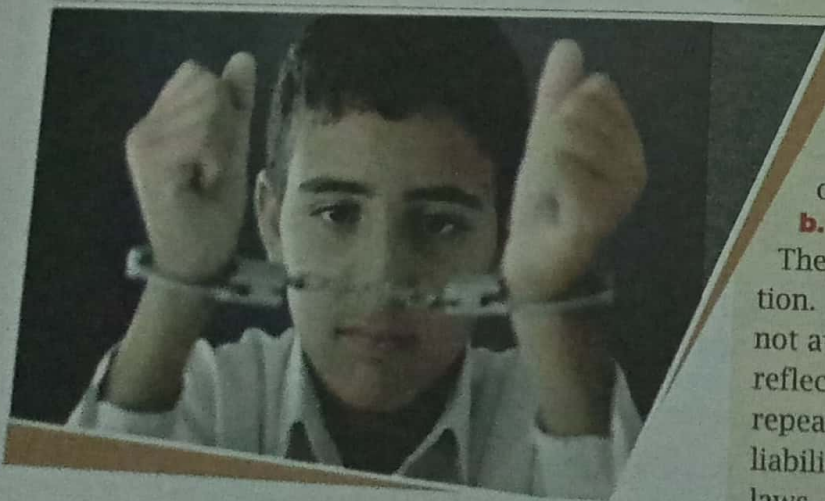
Constitutionalism is the first test of any legislation. Whereas all citizens are equal in the eyes of law, the state may, under article 25(3), legislate separately for women and children. Such positive discrimination is constitutionally sanctioned in Pakistan and serves as the constitutional basis of legislation on juvenile justice.

### 2. Linkage with International Law

Imperatives of international law also played a role for juvenile justice legislation in Pakistan. Pakistan ratified the Convention for the Rights of Children (CRC) in 1990. Article 40 of the CRC deals with children accused of violating penal law of a state and guarantees minimum guarantees which must make part of any juvenile law. These minimum guarantees include right to information about such an allegation, determination of such an allegation without delay, not to be compelled as witness against himself, right to appeal to a higher forum than the one that made the first determination and right to privacy in any such proceedings.

### 3. Legislative History

There have been different laws dealing with substantive and procedural aspects. The provisions relating to criminal liability are part of the Pakistan Penal Code, 1860 (PPC). Sections 82 and 83 of the PPC cascade the criminal liability and enumerate age as a 'defence' with effect of



## Understanding the Law Related to JUVENILE JUSTICE in Pakistan

mitigating the rigour of law. Likewise, the Islamic penal law in the form of Hudood Ordinance, 1979, also legislated on the subject. However, the first special law on the subject covering both the substantive and procedural law was introduced in the form of JJSO. But, the JJSO was suspended by the Lahore High Court (LHC) in 2004 in the case titled as Farooq Ahmed vs. Federation of Pakistan (PLD 2005 Lahore 15). The LHC had suspended the operation of JJSO, *inter alia*, for being impracticable. The order of the LHC was reversed by the Supreme Court of Pakistan in 2005 and thereafter the JJSO was repealed by JJSA in 2018.

### 4. Shared Responsibility of the Federation and the Provinces

The JJSA has been legislated by the national legislature by invoking its powers under Articles 142 and 143 of the Constitution of Pakistan that make criminal law, criminal procedure and evidence as Concurrent subjects, enabling both the Federation and the Provinces to legislate on the subject of juvenile justice. JJSA clearly shows that both the Federation and the Provinces are bound to protect juveniles as required by the constitution and the international human rights law.

### 5. Characteristic Features

#### a. Scheme

The scheme of JJSA is elaborate as it tries to cater for both the substantive as well as procedural sides of the law.

#### b. Age-related Debates

The age-related debates are at the heart of the legislation. Section 2(b) provides that child is anyone who has not attained the age of eighteen years; the definition is a reflection of Article 1 of the CRC. On the other hand, unrepealed sections 82 and 83 of PPC mitigate the criminal liability till the age of 12. The Islamic family and penal laws relate it to puberty. Likewise, the newly-added



Article 25-A through the Eighteenth Constitutional Amendment ties the age for compulsory education to upper age limit of sixteen years. These variations and the power to determine age by judicial fora ultimately has triggered different views, which have confounded the very applicability of the law. The neat distinctions between administrative, criminal and civil laws have not been utilized to clarify the issue. Similarly, the unbridled discretion in sentencing has also not helped in developing uniform sentencing standards having precedential value.

### c. Rights of a Juvenile

JJSA protects a juvenile by conferring many rights on him. Chief rights among them are:

- i. Right to legal assistance (section 3)
- ii. Right to be informed about arrest (section 5)
- iii. Right to be released on bail (section 6)
- iv. Right to be dealt by a senior police officer (section 7)
- v. Right to be tried separately from an adult co-accused (section 12)
- vi. Right to privacy in judicial proceedings (section 13)
- vii. Shield against capital punishment (section 16(1))
- viii. Shield against disqualification (section 19)
- ix. Juveniles accused of different types of offences are to be sentenced by keeping in view the following scale:
  1. 'Minor Offences' (punishable with imprisonment up to three years) - eligible to be considered for diversion order and entitled to bail.
  2. 'Major Offences' (punishable with imprisonment up to seven years) - eligible to be considered for diversion order and entitled to bail, if less than sixteen years of age.
  3. 'Heinous Offences' (punishable with death penalty, or life imprisonment, or imprisonment up to 10 years) - may be denied bail, if above sixteen years of age and not eligible to be considered for diversion order.

### d. Institutional Arrangement

In addition to conferring rights on a juvenile, the following two new institutions have been constituted by the JJSA:

#### 1. Juvenile Court

The JJSA empowers the government to constitute Juvenile Courts. Sufficiently-senior judges of the rank of Sessions Judge are to be notified as judges of Juvenile Courts. These Courts can pass all the punishments required under the penal law except capital punishment. These specialized courts are also conferred with power to pass diversion orders, which are essentially alternatives to formal penal law. The diversion orders are essentially

restorative in nature. These include restitution of movable property, reparation of damage caused, written or oral apology, participation in community service, payments of the costs of proceedings, placement in rehabilitation centres and written or oral reprimand.

### 2. Juvenile Justice Committee

To maximize options, the JJSA has provided for constitution of Juvenile Justice Committee that can pass diversion orders as an alternate to formal judicial orders.

#### e. Obligations for Police

The law specifically obliges police to do the following:

- i. The cases of juveniles be investigated by officers not below the rank of Sub-Inspector;
- ii. The police officer investigating a juvenile is required to associate a probation officer or a social welfare officer (authorized by government to carry out social investigation);
- iii. The police shall inform the guardian of a juvenile, in case of arrest;
- iv. The police officer investigating a juvenile shall try to determine the age of the accused. He shall first try to rely on the documentary evidence (birth or educational certificate) and in absence of any such document, may refer the matter to the medical officer.
- v. No female juvenile offender is to be arrested by male police officer;
- vi. No juvenile is to be handcuffed or fettered by police officers or prison staff.

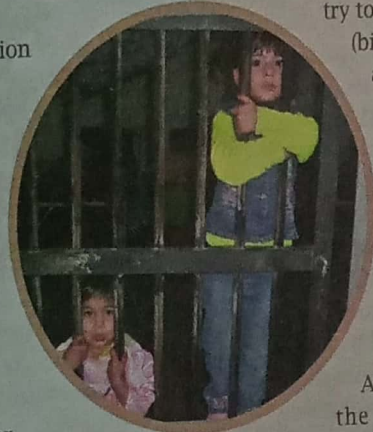
#### f. Implementation

All the lofty and noble ideas contained in the progressive legislation come into question when not implemented. The implementation, in turn, depends upon reservation of resources and administrative will to see the law in action. With sporadic and partial implementation of the law, the idea of a specialized law takes the flak.

#### Future Course of Action

The JJSA is a well-drafted law, but its impact will diminish unless it is wholeheartedly implemented. The rules for actual implementation are under deliberation. Their promulgation will be a sign of the seriousness of the government. In addition, the JJSA must be made part of training of police, prosecution, judiciary and prisons departments. Dedicated funding with monitoring mechanisms including collection and collation of data may help Pakistan to improve its standings in international fora. Investment in children of the nation, in any form, is going to pay far-reaching dividends. ■

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China and Russia—the former a rising power and the latter a great power that is currently striving to regain its lost glory—are, nowadays, at the center stage of geopolitics in Asia. Russia has traditionally been the most trusted ally of China's neighbour and main antagonist, India. On the other hand, India is the biggest enemy of Pakistan too. It has fought wars with both China and Pakistan and has, even today, very tense relations with them. In this backdrop, India's unprecedented tilt towards the United States of America—observed during the last few years—has rung alarm bells in all these three countries. Both countries have become strategic partners and have also signed deals for the supply of American weapons and missile technology to India. This state of affairs provides a significant variable to Pakistan, China and Russia to dramatically change the dimensions of their strategic relationship. It is in this backdrop that a China-Pakistan-Russia triangle is fast emerging as a bulwark against growing US presence in Asia and its protégée India.



The strong relationship between China and Pakistan, as illustrated recently by the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor, has long played a key role in Asia's geopolitics. However, broader regional developments over the last few months—including growing ties between Moscow and Islamabad and increasing cooperation in Afghanistan among Moscow, Islamabad and Beijing—also raise the possibility of a new coalition involving Pakistan, China and Russia. Regional developments, uncertain US policy and Afghanistan's ongoing challenges increase the possibility of convergence of these three regional states. In the following write-up, the author has discussed various factors that are bringing these three countries together.

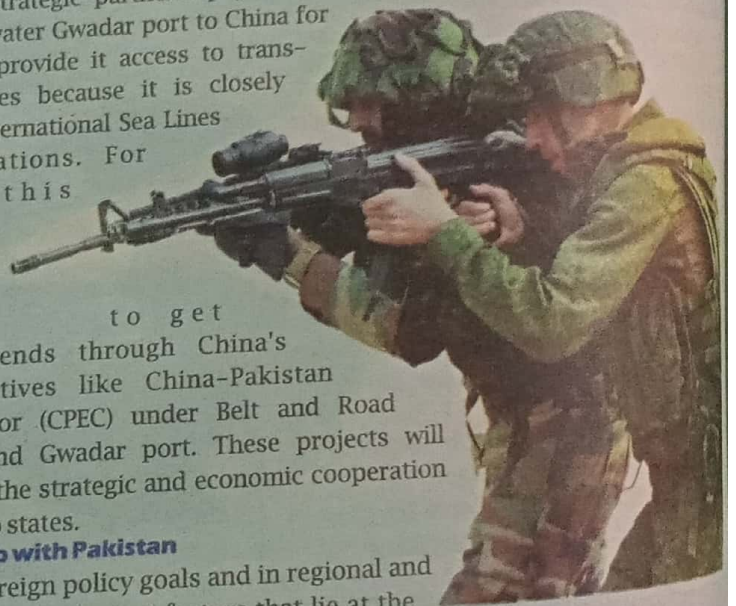
#### Pakistan-China Relations

Pakistan was the first country in the Muslim world to recognize People's Republic of China (in 1949) and it established diplomatic ties with it in 1951. The relationship received an upward trajectory after the China-India war of 1962. Since then, both the countries are enjoying mutually reciprocated relationship passing through golden ages, and will strengthen further in the decades to come. Geo-economically and strategically both the countries are interdependent to safeguard their vital economic and strategic interests, and play complementary role for the attainment of their respective regional and global interests. For China, the strategic partnership provides it considerable gains. The hand-over of Pakistan's deep water Gwadar port to China for forty years can provide it access to trans-shipment facilities because it is closely located to the International Sea Lines of Communications. For Pakistan, this partnership provides all-embracing opportunities to get

economic dividends through China's economic initiatives like China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) under Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) and Gwadar port. These projects will further reinforce the strategic and economic cooperation between these two states.

#### Russia Cosying up with Pakistan

Changes in the foreign policy goals and in regional and global orientations are the two factors that lie at the



# Pakistan-Russia-China Strategic Alliance



An overview of compulsive factors

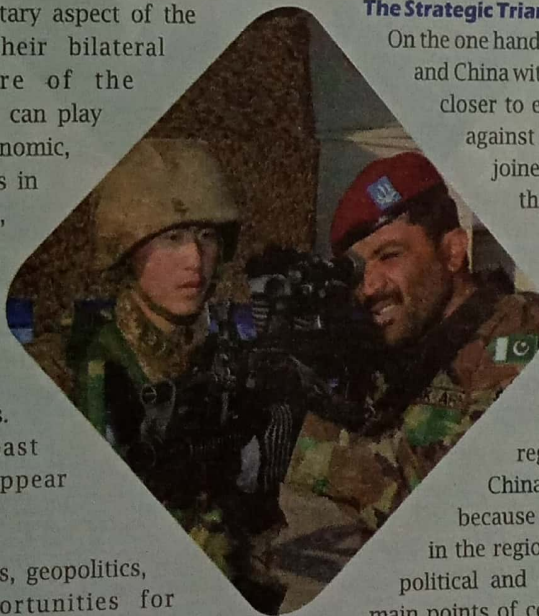


core of the changing nature of relationships between and among states. Both India and Russia have lost the convergence of interest they used to have on Afghanistan during the Cold War. In this scenario, the importance of Pakistan for Russia has come to the fore. Owing to Pakistan's tilt towards the US and Russia's extra inclination towards India, during the Cold War, both Russia and Pakistan could not build cordial relationship. However, that long established pattern seems torn apart as both countries are increasingly coming together. The major breakthrough in fostering better ties in the post-Cold War era, happened when on the invitation of President Putin, in 2003, President Pervez Musharraf went on a state visit to Russia. It served as an icebreaker to the dormant bilateral relationship of the two countries as it opened the window of opportunities to discuss their mutually beneficial relationship at the highest level. The lifting of arms embargo from Pakistan by Russia in 2014 paved the way for an upward trajectory in their bilateral relationship. The joint drills known as "Arabian Monsoon," conducted between the naval forces of the two countries during 2014 and 2015, and joint exercises code-named "Druzhba" (Friendship) between their military forces in 2016, 2017, 2018 and 2020 is further strengthening the military aspect of the growing convergence in their bilateral relationship. Being aware of the complementary role that both can play for their respective geo-economic, political and strategic interests in the midst of changing political, economic and strategic regional landscape, Pakistan and Russia have been successful in developing cordial and collaborative relationship in the recent years. The cynicism of their past bitterness seems to disappear gradually.

#### **Russia-China Bonhomie**

Changes in global orientations, geopolitics, geo-economics, and opportunities for cooperation in energy and economic sector and maintaining regional strategic stability are the driving factors to forge a strong China-Russia-Pakistan triangle. The prospects of evolving of a strategic triangle among three states into a mature axis are considerably very high owing to their convergence of interest both in matters of economic development and security-related concerns.

Establishing, and then maintaining, peace and stability in Afghanistan is a significant contributing factor for forging strategic cooperation among China, Pakistan and Russia.



For Russia and China, the common threat to their respective regional interests and main hindrance that limits their respective abilities in shaping the regional security environment is growing influence of US in their vicinity. For Russia, North Atlantic Treaty Organization (Nato) and for China, US alliances in the Indo-Pacific region is the chief potential threat to their interests. In this context the strategic partnership between China and Russia is grounded in geopolitical reality besides, a number of shared economic, strategic and diplomatic interest magnetically bring the two closer for cooperation.

#### **The India Spanner in the Works**

Strategic significance of India has increased in the eyes of US as it can play a vital role in containing China that has been a long-term goal of successive presidential administrations. India, having both nuclear and military power, enjoys a strong position in Asia; with US support, it has the potential to build up its military and economic prowess to stem the rise of China. The Indo-US alignment will serve the purpose of killing two birds with one stone; it will not only serve US interest in the region, i.e. containment of China, but will also disturb the balance of power between India and Pakistan helping the former to fulfil its desire to become a regional hegemon.

#### **The Strategic Triangle**

On the one hand, the ideological clashes of Russia and China with the United States brought them closer to engage in a strategic partnership against their common foe. They have joined hands to lessen US influence in their neighbouring regions such as Central Asia and Indo-Pacific.

On the other hand, Pakistan and China too have a time-tested, strategic partnership against their mutual rival India to counterbalance its deep-rooted desire to become a regional hegemon. So, Pakistan, China and Russia are coming together because of their commonality of interests in the region. Hence, genuine security, geo-political and geo-economic interests are the main points of convergence of China, Russia and Pakistan.

#### **The Afghanistan Factor**

The US presence in Afghanistan, India's growing involvement there, with tacit US support, and Afghanistan's receptivity equally raise security concerns for Pakistan, Russia and China. Both China and Pakistan share borders with Afghanistan and have vested interests



there. Russia is also a major stakeholder in Afghanistan that is boarded with its near abroad, Central Asia. Maintaining a peaceful and stable environment in Afghanistan is essential for security of these countries. Afghanistan acts as a bridge for connecting Central, South, East and West Asia. The socio-economic, political and security stability of these regions is dependent on a stable and peaceful Afghanistan. So, establishing, and then maintaining, peace and stability in this war-torn country is a significant contributing factor for forging China-Pakistan-Russia strategic cooperation. The current and looming (in the backdrop of US withdrawal) precarious security situation and the political turmoil in Afghanistan is another serious cause of concern for Pakistan, China and Russia equally. Therefore, owing to shared vital interests of a peaceful and stable Afghanistan and realization of the role this emerging trio can play in gaining a favourable situation there is the most imperative factor for the development of strong engagement among the three.

#### Geo-economic Factors

Economic and security considerations of China, Russia and Pakistan are highly interwoven and they motivate them to work collaboratively to deter any threat posed by Indo-US manoeuvres in the region. That is why their cooperation and collaboration is not only limited to security and political matters but they are also expanding it in the economic realm. Russia's joining of China's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) is one positive step in this direction. Russia is keen to play the role of a prominent supporter and participant in the overall promotion and success of BRI. The signing of "Joint Statement on Cooperation on the Construction of Joint Eurasian Economic Union and the Silk Road Projects" in 2015 is the first concrete step in this regard. In response to Russia's participation in BRI and Russian president Vladimir Putin's proposal to connect the northern sea route with BRI during the first Belt and Road Forum on international cooperation, China announced in its Arctic Policy its readiness to build Ice Silk Road. Since CPEC is the flagship project under BRI, the significance of the role that Pakistan can play owing to its blessed geo-strategic location cannot be undermined. The enhanced cooperation among China, Russia and Pakistan on BRI can promote it as a counterbalance to the US pivot to Asia policy. The mutual economic interdependency and mounting US sway in Asia strengthens the prospects of greater economic cooperation between these states.



#### Strategic Stability

For Pakistan, the prudence dictates that it must align itself with regional powers such as China and Russia with whom it enjoys convergence of interests on long-term basis. One thing that motivates Pakistan to strengthen its partnership with China and to reinvigorate its relationship with Russia is the greatest threat to its security posed by the arch-rival India. The US, with whom Pakistan is experiencing 'half hatred, half trust' relationship could not guarantee defending long-term dimensions of the security threats posed by India. The recent US tilt towards India and supporting its bid to join Nuclear Suppliers Group vindicate this fact. Thus, for Pakistan, seeking an alternate to US in the form of China and Russia is the need of the hour.

Russia sees the continuous rise of China promising to attain a balanced international system by chipping away at global preponderance of the US. Russia has, since long, relied on China as a major counterweight to the global dominance of US. So, both the countries are very well aware that coordinating their policies at regional and global levels will not only enhance their standing but will also make them able to better protect their interests amidst increasing US involvement in Asia.

Keeping in view its return to South Asia policy, Russia's strategic and foreign policy calculus gives Pakistan a prominent position. Russia seems keen to rekindle its relationship with Pakistan with the intention of balancing out pro-America pivot of India after India's resolve to fully cooperate with the US in Indo-Pacific for containing China.

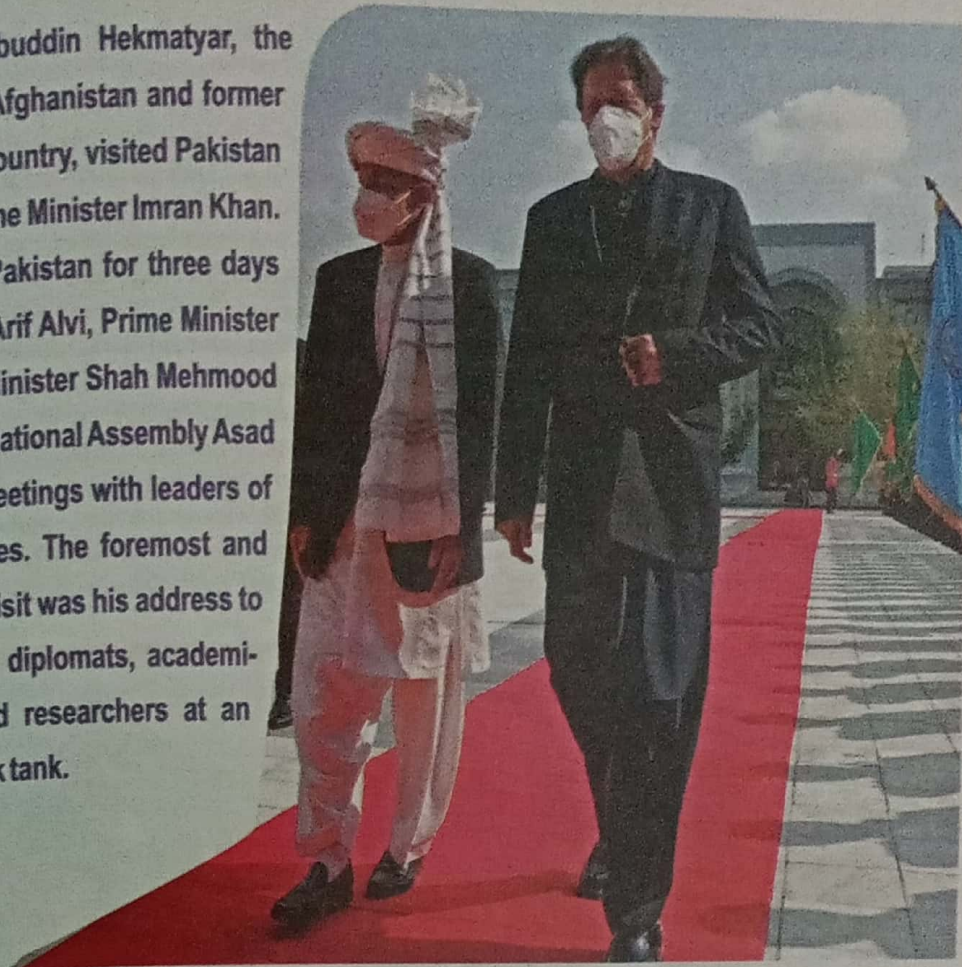
#### Conclusion

The rapidly transforming international political structure is resulting in realignment of power relationships that were improbable previously. The emerging triangle of Russia, China and Pakistan vindicates the fact that how transformations in international political structure make the improbable probable. Pakistan, apart from a staunch ally of China is gradually occupying special status in the strategic calculus of Russia. Growing US influence in the region, increased Indian involvement in Afghanistan backed by the US, expected US withdrawal from Afghanistan and post-withdrawal security situation in the country along with other factors are the compulsive factors for drawing Pakistan, China and Russia closer for greater cooperation in geo-economic and geo-political arena. ■

*The writer is a member of staff*



In October, Engr Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, the head of Hizb-e-Islami Afghanistan and former Prime Minister of his country, visited Pakistan on the invitation of Prime Minister Imran Khan. Hekmatyar stayed in Pakistan for three days and met President Dr Arif Alvi, Prime Minister Imran Khan, Foreign Minister Shah Mehmood Qureshi and Speaker National Assembly Asad Qaisar. He also had meetings with leaders of various political parties. The foremost and important part of his visit was his address to a gathering of senior diplomats, academicians, journalists and researchers at an Islamabad-based think tank.



## PAKISTAN-AFGHANISTAN HIGH-LEVEL VISITS

Impact on bilateral relations and the future of Intra-Afghan Dialogue

Mairaj ul Hamid Nasri



Engr Hekmatyar, while addressing the gathering, spoke his heart out and touched upon various aspects of Afghan war, the role of USA in destabilization of Afghanistan, failure of Nato & Isaf, proxy wars of regional states on Afghan land, political instability in Afghanistan, refugee crisis, Pakistan-Afghanistan cordial relationship and, last but not least, the Afghan peace process. In his address, Engr Hekmatyar was of the opinion that Afghanistan has gained nothing from the wars in the past four decades or so. Infrastructure in Afghanistan has been destroyed, roads are broken, houses turned into ashes, economy run by foreign aid and funding, the country is politically instable and the social fabric has been torn

apart. The Afghans are leading a chaotic life and their third generation is witnessing the ravages of war. However, he did not point out the beneficiaries of war economy and warlords that are still dominant in Afghan political landscape and are resistant to a change in the status quo.

Moreover, Engr Hekmatyar termed American presence on Afghan soil since 2001 as a misadventure and said that Afghanistan proved to be the most difficult target for the Americans, Nato and Isaf. Afghan National Security Forces (ANSF) that has been trained by the Americans is facing desertions since Nato withdrawal. He added that all the regional states, including Pakistan, were, at that time, in favour of America's invasion of Afghanistan but the time



has changed now and no one in the region supports US stay there anymore. Condemning proxy wars being fought in Afghanistan, he warned that India should not use Afghan soil to destabilize Pakistan, or the US to hurt Russia, or Iran to harm Saudi Arabia. Criticizing India for committing atrocities in Jammu and Kashmir and denying the Kashmiris the right to decide their future, he advised Indians to learn from the defeat of the Soviet Union and Nato in Afghanistan.

While discussing the Intra-Afghan dialogue, Engr Hekmatyar also disclosed that talks between Taliban and Hizb-e-Islami will start very soon. This is undoubtedly good news as many people were suspecting the position of his group in case Afghan government and Taliban reach a political settlement. He was doubtful about America's sincerity in restoring peace to Afghanistan and said that peace agreement with the Taliban was not the wish of

from just before the Soviet invasion, throughout the USSR's occupation of Afghanistan, and well after the American invasion of his country, will have the same approach. He is not a democratically-elected leader but a creation of war and hit by atrocities of war. Prior to Hekmatyar's visit, Dr Abdullah Abdullah, former CEO, and current Chairman of the High Council of National Reconciliation, also paid an official visit to Pakistan. His visit was a positive sign for intra-Afghan dialogue and Pakistani officials pledged to fully support Afghan government in the peace dialogue. Furthermore, apart from inviting political figures of Afghanistan, Pakistan invited officials from the Qatar office of the Taliban and then Taliban's political interlocutor, Mullah Abdul Ghani Baradar, and other delegates visited Islamabad on August 24, 2020. In the ongoing year, many Afghan politicians and leaders representing their



American authorities; rather it was a kind of face-saving from their shameful defeat in Afghanistan. Declaring the re-election of President Ashraf Ghani a fraud and undemocratic, he predicted that the Ghani-led coalition will soon lose its credibility, and Afghanistan will need a broad-based and wide-encompassing national government in the near future. He appreciated Pakistan's sincere, long-lasting support to Afghanistan in hard times. Some analysts have criticized Hekmatyar because of his harsh statements against the Afghan government, India and Iran as he has repeatedly accused them of derailing the peace process. They believe that his harsh language, hardcore approach, rigidity in terms of accommodating his opponents, lack of absorbing others and lackluster approach towards solving the issues through dialogue are still a part of his personality. But a leader like Hekmatyar, who is a survivor of several Afghan conflicts, starting

respective parties including Mohammad Muhaqiq were invited to Islamabad.

The frequent visits of Afghan leaders are the manifestation of Pakistan's policy of having constructive diplomatic relations with the Afghan government, politicians and media. The basic agenda behind these initiatives is to bring all the Afghan factions on one table so that the intra-Afghan dialogue may prove fruitful. At this point of time, although there has been no considerable outcome of the Intra-Afghan dialogue, yet Pakistan is endeavouring to ensure a peaceful political settlement in Afghanistan by building a consensus among all the stakeholders.

On the other hand, Pakistan's Prime Minister Imran Khan has also visited Afghanistan on the invitation of Afghan president Dr Ashraf Ghani. He reached Kabul on November 20, and held a detailed meeting with Afghan president along with his delegation. Pakistan's Foreign



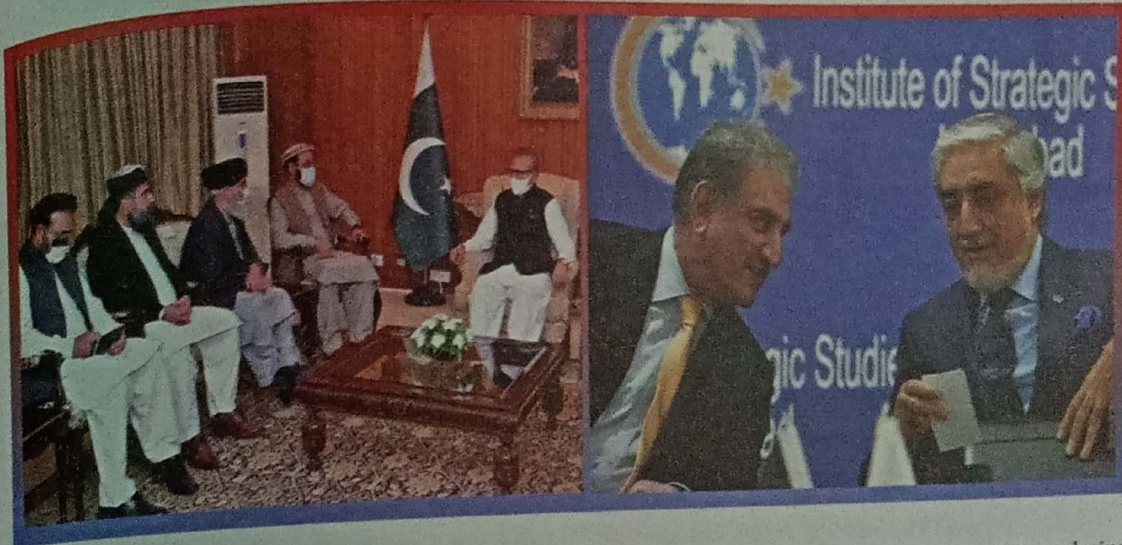
Minister Shah Mehmood Qureshi also met his Afghan counterpart. Addressing a joint press conference alongside Afghan President Ashraf Ghani at the Presidential Palace, Prime Minister Imran Khan said that the two countries have historical links. He said, "The idea of visiting at a time when violence is increasing [in Afghanistan] is to assure you, President Ghani, that the people and the government of Pakistan have only one concern: peace in Afghanistan." Mr Khan offered this country's full support when he told the Afghan side that if "Pakistan can help, please let us know". During the premier's visit, the two countries jointly issued a document titled 'Shared vision between Islamic Republic of Afghanistan and Islamic Republic of Pakistan to support peace and stability in both countries and the wider region.' Some of the core elements of the shared vision that officials agreed for Afghanistan and Pakistan include:

- That Afghanistan and Pakistan should enjoy a "special relationship" founded on predictability, transparency, mutual and full respect for one another's sovereignty, and on expanding and furthering their mutual interests through state-to-state mechanisms.
- That Afghanistan's posture of "multi-alignment" with other countries, pursuing a number of friendly relationships, "presents a real opportunity for the two countries to exploit and conversely presents no threat".
- That neither country's territory should be used for "malicious purposes" against the other's territory, and that both countries should work together to "identify and tackle enemies of peace".
- That regional connectivity should be broadened and deepened, with an emphasis on trade, free movement of people, goods and services, opening of trade and customs posts, and transport and energy infrastructure development, aiming for regional development

dividends greater than what each country might expect to achieve alone

- That a safe, time-bound and dignified return of Afghan refugees from Pakistan would help the two countries address the humanitarian and socio-economic challenges associated with population displacement. Engagement at the highest level between Islamabad and Kabul is essential for improved bilateral relations, as well as peace in the region. The exchange of high-level visits will ensure removing the lack of trust and will definitely help in achieving long-lasting peace in Afghanistan through peace negotiations.

It is worth mentioning here that with the arrival of new president of the United States of America, Mr Joe Biden, both Pakistan and Afghanistan will see new policies and strategies of America. During his tenure as vice president with President Barack H. Obama, both Pakistan and Afghanistan were linked through Af-Pak policy, thus



prediction of the revival of the same strategy during Biden's presidency is a far-fetched idea. Mr Biden has announced to reduce the number of American troops to 2500 and it has created panic among those who have been lobbying for staying the course in Afghanistan. The fate of intra-Afghan dialogue during a Biden presidency is unclear but derailing the process will unquestionably harm the strategic and political goals of the United States in Afghanistan. To get prepared for the worse scenario, both Pakistan and Afghanistan need to be on one page and the leaders must come closer together for achieving harmonized and mutually-beneficial policy of dealing with USA and other regional and global actors. ■

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It's a perfectly well-known fact that China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) is one branch of above \$60 billion for Pakistan from over \$6 trillion 'investment tree'. It's all due to China's investment-friendly philosophy. Fortunately, this came as the privileged bounty for Pakistan due to the latter's geo-strategic location and time-tested Pak-China friendship. The CPEC has taken the lead in consolidating economic, political and socio-cultural relations between Beijing and Islamabad. It is one of the six economic corridors envisaged in President Xi Jinping's signature policy of Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), and the one that has been given much more importance after declaring it a flagship project of the BRI.

## CPEC and the 'Education System' in Pakistan

### Gauging the Impact

Saadia Saif Niazi

**C**PEC is not one-dimensional connectivity; it, in fact, comprises multidimensional connecting nodes. Several projects would remain the main element of connectivity between two diverse, culturally-rich nations. In reality, present government of Pakistan has redefined the scope of CPEC, with the slogan "One Corridor, Many Doors". Therefore, it is imperative to educate the undergraduate students, graduates scholars and, in fact, schools kids too, on the CPEC project and its implications on a common Pakistani, because this type of massive opportunity for Pakistanis is not in destiny at least in near future.

Throughout history, Pakistan remained an important part of world's ancient civilizations, i.e. Indus Valley Civilization. Even today, it is having huge stakes in the world's connectivity phenomenon. Pakistan's prized strategic location makes it an important organ of the New Silk Road as it was an important appendage of the ancient Silk Road. The idea of CPEC is based on futuristic economic relationship among Asian neighbours and even beyond. It is now an upgraded version that emphasizes on mega-scale connectivity through vibrant corridors of road, railways and maritime linkages.

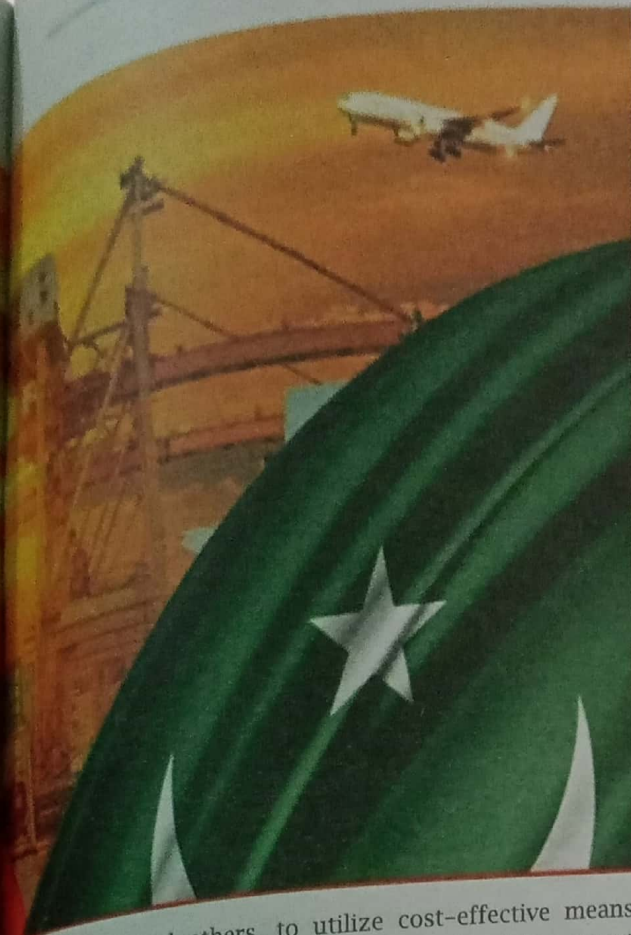
How do you see CPEC impacting the education system in

Pakistan? This questions bothers me a lot. So far, I haven't heard any significant change regarding the insight of CPEC in any educational institute. Four to five years ago, only a couple of universities from Pakistan had signed MOUs with Chinese universities, and nothing significant outcome (research plan) has been seen even after years. Likewise, nothing has been done for primary/secondary school level where the syllabus needs urgent reform, especially on issues related to the new connectivity phenomenon of today's globalized world.

Connectivity sensation did not emerge from China's BRI only, but other countries as well. For example, the United States has worked on a similar project, India and Japan are, too, working on their corridors and Europe also wants its connectivity with Asia. At school level, students are unaware of the significant strategic outcomes which Pakistan could achieve through this multidimensional corridor.

In addition, at societal level in Pakistan and China, there is consciousness problem where educationists and academicians don't have the known-how of educational technology of each other. Current governments in both countries should adopt their respective national plans to engage with each other to attain higher education standards similar to those of Poland, Sweden, Turkey,





Germany, and others, to utilize cost-effective means (such as online education) focusing on the right content with special focus on rural areas because CPEC would be an ideal source of linking various provinces of both the countries.

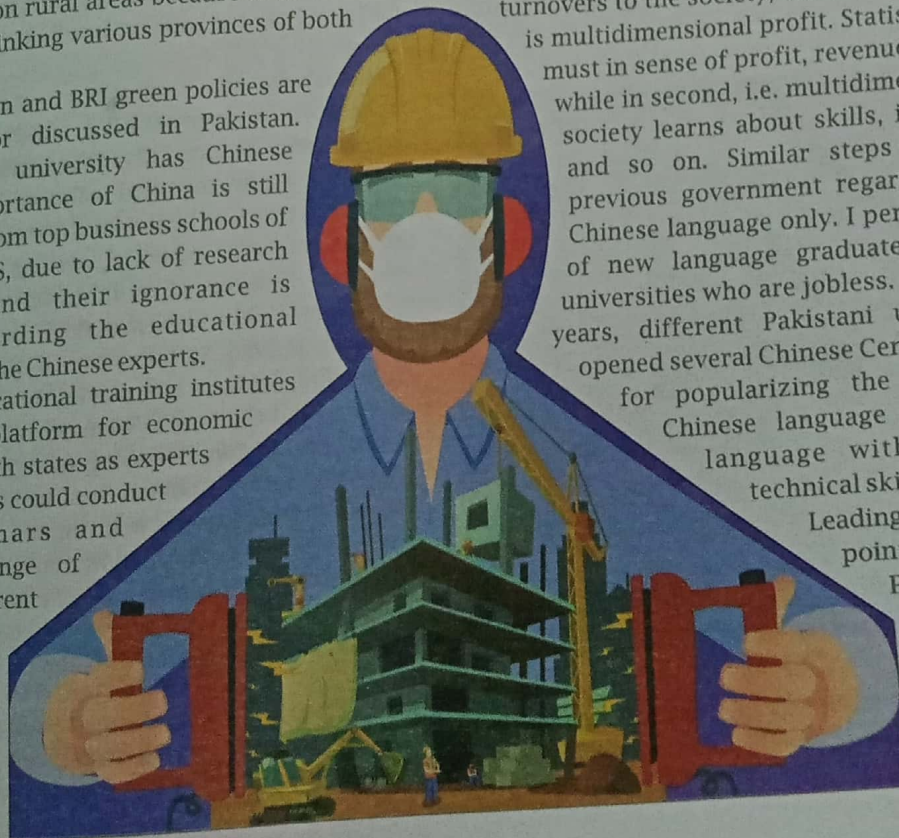
China is going green and BRI green policies are nowhere talked or discussed in Pakistan. Unfortunately, no university has Chinese experts. The importance of China is still questioned, even from top business schools of Pakistan, like LUMS, due to lack of research and exposure, and their ignorance is frightening regarding the educational collaboration with the Chinese experts. In this regard, vocational training institutes could provide a platform for economic development in both states as experts from both countries could conduct training, seminars and workshops. Exchange of know-how of different courses such as technician or jobs in trade or in craft could also help in developing SEZs specifically in

Pakistan. Therefore, Pakistan's education policy needs to be collaborative and innovative to accommodate distant learning and e-learning by following high standards and developing good infrastructure and focused facilities. One appreciation on behalf of the Higher Education Commission (HEC) must be celebrated in the form of 'CPEC Consortium of Universities' which was founded in Islamabad in August 2017, and established special schools to promote business-to-business linkages between China and Pakistan. The CPEC Consortium of Universities has vowed to enhance cooperation in the fields of business studies, science and technology for the benefit of the societies of the two countries. As many as 58 universities have joined the consortium.

Another milestone by HEC is the formulation of a full-fledge course at bachelors level (to study China) with the name of 'BRI and CPEC: Regional Development', only in the discipline of 'Social Sciences'. National University of Modern Languages (NUML), Islamabad, has taken the initiative to teach this as a course at bachelor's and master's levels. Unfortunately, no other university in Islamabad is offering this course. Currently, when Pakistan is facing several regional and extra-regional challenges in the implementation of the CPEC plans, there is a necessity to take this consortium ahead, and courses like BRI and CPEC to be taught and studied in every discipline and at every Pakistani national university so that better understanding regarding China's ambitions and CPEC should prevail.

SEZs of any country can give two types of incentives or turnovers to the society; one is statistical and other is multidimensional profit. Statistical turnover is must in sense of profit, revenue generation, etc, while in second, i.e. multidimensional profit, a society learns about skills, innovative ideas, and so on. Similar steps were taken by previous government regarding learning of Chinese language only. I personally met a lot of new language graduates form Chinese universities who are jobless. Although, in past years, different Pakistani universities have opened several Chinese Centers of Excellence for popularizing the learning of the Chinese language only, learning a language without a specific technical skill is futile.

Leading towards the next point, one has to look at Pakistan's role in global value chains and the larger BR plan because only then we can understand



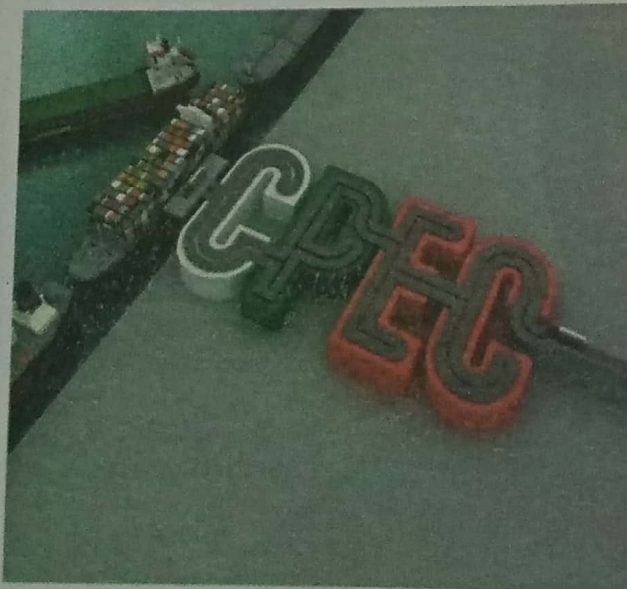


China's industrial relocation and the CPEC programmes and plans. Here, it is also important to understand the importance of China Vision 2025. Chinese Prime Minister Li Keqiang launched "Made in China (MIC) 2025," an ambitious initiative which sets to modernize China's industrial capability. The four main advantages of MIC

generations, especially due to the rise of digital economies such as AI, Big Data, robotics, nanotech, etc. The efforts of President of Pakistan, Dr Arif Alvi, deserve praise as he has initiated an online programme for youngsters named 'Presidential Initiative for Artificial Intelligence & Computing (PIAIC)' to reshape Pakistan by revolutionizing



2015 will be: market, enterprises, strategy and talent. Therefore, the aim is to reduce China's reliance on foreign technology imports and invest heavily in its own innovations in order to create Chinese companies that can compete both domestically and globally. This is the time Pakistan should learn how China is heading towards success by incorporating their educational and industrial sectors.



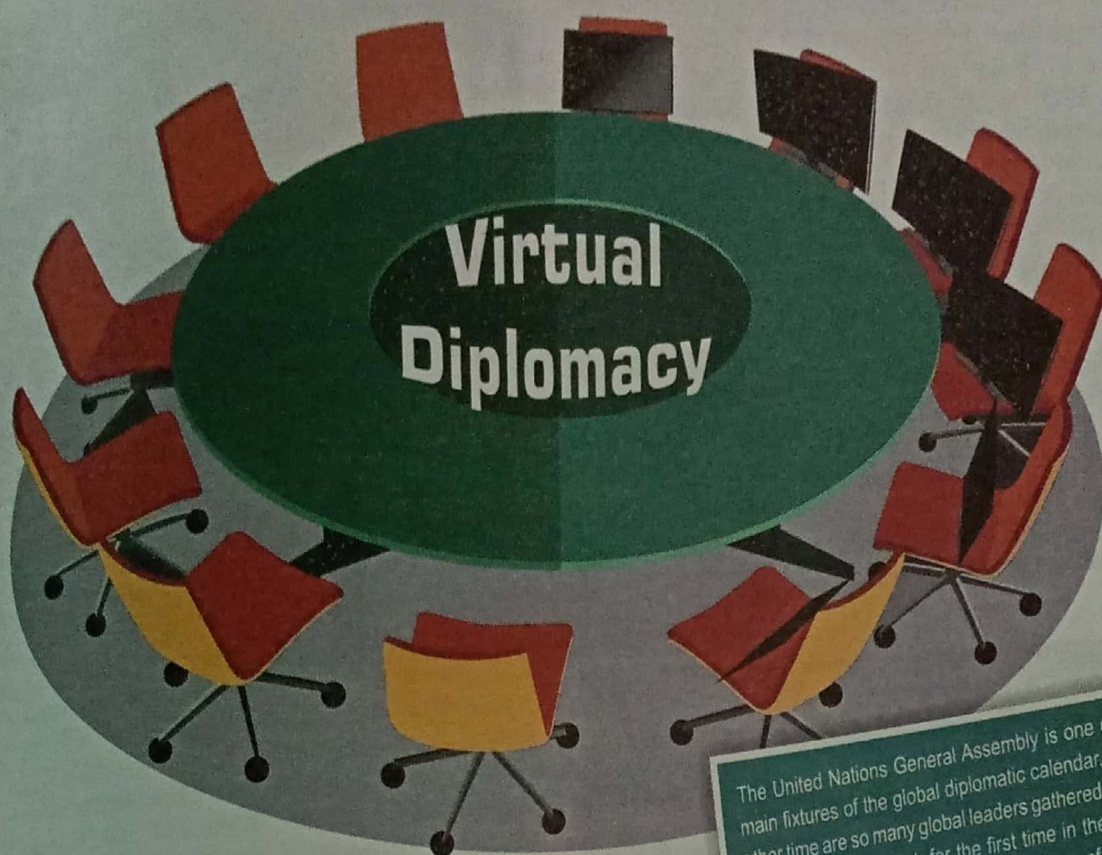
Chinese education system has the highest OECD ranking (above Europe and other Asian countries). Mathematics and science subjects are very critical for future

education, research and business by adopting latest, cutting-edge technologies. The mission of this programme is to make Pakistan a global hub for AI, data science, cloud, etc. Such educational initiatives will be playing a role of economic backbone for Pakistan because these will lead to the boosting of Special Economic Zones (SEZs) of Pakistan and youth will find job opportunities in those.

Conclusively, at a time when some CPEC projects are successfully approaching completion, a smooth transition to its more advanced phases can help Pakistan qualify to a more dignified status in the comity of nations. CPEC can prove to be the ultimate solution for unlocking the region's true potential, serving as a game-changer. Not only in terms of an improved economy and inter-connectivity, but also, if played wisely, in terms of the region's politics and security. It holds the promise of propelling Pakistan into playing an increasing prominent role beyond the South Asian region, the implications of which are already becoming evident in short period of time. However, Pakistan has to be cognizant of the numerous challenges and threats that lie along this pathway to a new international club. Here, it is the time to see the world with new eyes as a great saying goes "The real voyage of discovery lies not in seeking new landscapes but in seeing with new eyes." ■

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## As virus goes viral, diplomacy goes virtual

**T**he coronavirus pandemic has affected the world massively and its impact is already being felt at the local, regional and international levels in multifarious ways.

International diplomacy is one area that is at the centre of the whole phenomenon, and we have seen this at full display at this year's annual session of the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA). Traditionally, the spectacles at the UNGA unfold in grand and scripted fashion: Leader after leader striding to the podium inside the colossal UNGA chamber to uncork carefully calibrated speeches, posture publicly and speak the language of statecraft. And each year, in the hallways of the

M. Bilal Butt

United Nations and the hotels that surround it, intensive doses of more intimate, more genuine diplomacy take place in quiet conversations, in small bilateral meetings, in one-on-one huddles that gestate subtle understanding and, sometimes, even prevent wars. However, this year, because of the coronavirus pandemic, the spectacles still happened, but remotely—on video, in pre-recorded fashion, far from the madding diplomatic crowd. This year, the UN's halls were mostly empty. On the chamber's floor, delegations were limited to one person for each member state. The giant screens

The United Nations General Assembly is one of the main fixtures of the global diplomatic calendar. At no other time are so many global leaders gathered in one place at one time. But, for the first time in the world body's history, this year's annual session of UNGA was held without in-person meetings because of the novel coronavirus pandemic (Covid-19), which forced to convert its global stage for diplomacy into a ghost village of video conferences and pre-recorded speeches. Leaders from 193 UN member nations began a meeting that promised to be more cerebral than visceral. Gone are the face-to-face meetings and chance encounters in backrooms, corridors and hotels around the world body's sprawling complex. This innovation in international relations has changed the way diplomacy is conducted and it is expected that the transformation will see it being practiced more and more through virtual meetings in the online world.

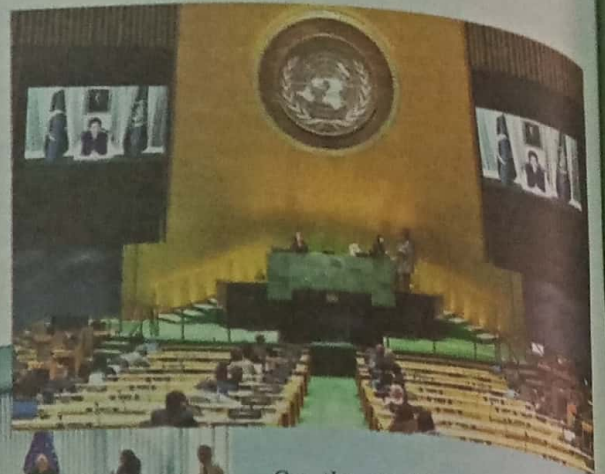
were full of far-off leaders who took no planes to convene but, instead, recorded messages in the safety and isolation of their home countries and their offices. This sea change suggests that diplomatic practices will change significantly in the post-pandemic world where online meetings, discussions and delibera-



tions will become a norm.

Diplomacy is a complex process, and its success depends on interpersonal relationships that are forged during numerous formal and informal gatherings, including conferences, lunches and receptions. During difficult negotiations, the most sensitive sticking points are often ironed out informally, in corridors or lounges. However, the advent of the information age has changed the way diplomacy was conducted in the past. The ongoing pandemic has exposed us to "virtual diplomacy" as the new technique of diplomacy that signifies the altered diplomacy associated with the emergence of a networked globe.

While diplomacy is today constrained by the requirement of physical distance, virtual diplomacy has enabled seamless communication and information



On the upside, virtual meetings will allow for reduced travel budgets, especially as travel restrictions remain in place in many parts of the world, and as hybrid settings will permit the continuation of multilateral

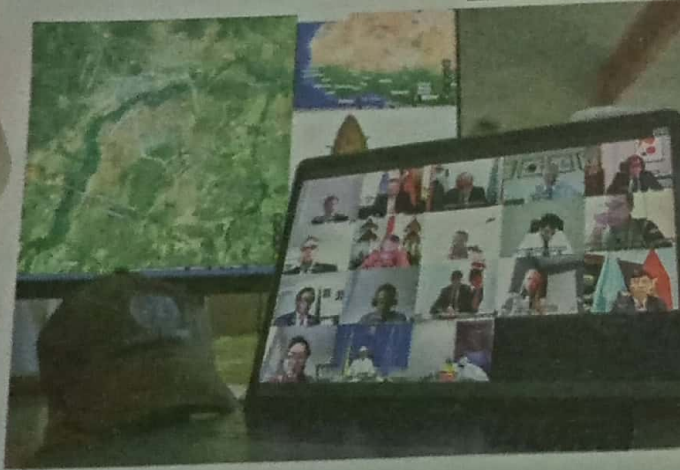
discussions and dialogues. Notwithstanding, there may also be a need for improved access to technological tools and working methods. Diplomats may benefit from broadening their skill set, among others, through improved digital capabilities and experience in virtual negotiation rooms. In the end, multilateralism and diplomacy will continue to play a key role in tackling the pandemic, while the promotion of increased trust and cooperation will be fundamental pillars of the global response to our shared challenges.

### Challenges

The accelerated transition towards online meetings and diplomacy faces four major challenges:

#### 1. A Faster internet

The first relates to the technology itself. There have been innumerable breakthroughs in communications technology, yet it still often fails us. Despite all the latest technological developments, online platforms are not yet stable nor intuitive enough for seamless meetings. The online experience is usually characterised by repetitive exchanges of 'Can you hear me?' or reminders to (un)mute the microphone. These problems may seem trivial, but they can hamper the momentum of a meeting. This has discouraged both individuals and organisations from relying on online conferencing. There is a clear need for smarter platforms that account for human imperfections and create better user experiences. Even to this date, basic access to the Internet remains a serious challenge in many developing countries, which are already marginalised in traditional diplomacy. Reliable access must be ensured in these places in order to avoid digital and diplomatic divides reinforcing each other.



flow (the two fundamental aspects of diplomacy) between countries. While one might point out the merits of face-to-face meetings that provide better negotiating and bargaining opportunities, but again virtual diplomacy saves time and hassles of organizing high-level delegation visits. However, the compelling circumstances might help leaders to adapt to the virtual model over time and information technology-backed communication methods might emerge more effectively in post-pandemic deliberations.

### Benefits

As the pandemic continues to intensify the social, economic and environmental crises, we will probably bear witness to reductions in financial and human resource allocations for diplomatic hubs, coupled with increased demands. It will, then, be natural to streamline our resources as we navigate through these uncharted and unpredictable waters.



## 2. Physical interactions

The fundamental dynamics of human interaction and attention are the second area of concern. Online meetings and bring forth new social dynamics compared to traditional face meeting. The rich, human context that shapes a face-to-face meeting is often absent in a virtual setting. Body language and overall 'personal chemistry' are minimised or lost entirely. Establishing a presence in meetings, or simply keeping the attention of participants, can be incredibly difficult. When more interesting and engaging content is readily accessible, running an effective meeting is almost impossible. As diplomacy and other fields steer towards the online space, it is clear that we need engaging meeting platforms and techniques beyond the existing 'talking heads' format.

## 3. Protocols and codes of conduct


Another issue that is of particular importance in diplomacy: protocol. Online meetings challenge centuries-old rules of protocol shaped by hierarchy and fixed rituals. Online exchanges have proven to be more informal and less 'protocol-friendly'. While the loss of some aspects of diplomatic tradition would not be regretted, some rules of engagement must remain. Protocol and rituals protect diplomats' unique role as representatives of their countries, and are essential in allowing them to engage with their counterparts despite divergent and conflicting national positions and interests.

## 4. Leaders' chemistry

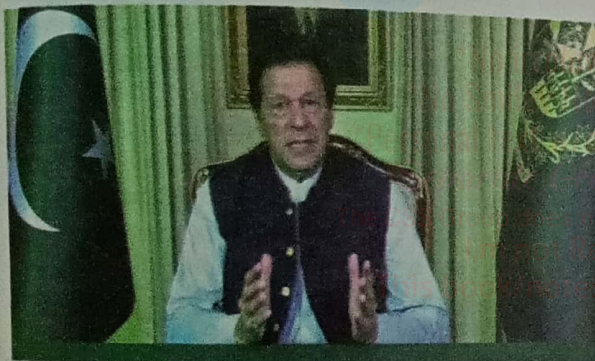
It would appear that while digital tools may be useful for diplomacy, especially during the time of crisis, the

the recent peace deal between the USA and the Taliban demonstrate the continued necessity of gathering real people in actual rooms. But many other more technical and routine meetings can, and should, shift online. So, for the foreseeable future, though, as nations around the globe struggle with the unprecedented challenge of the Covid-19 and worldwide travel restrictions continue, it may be necessary for high-level diplomacy to be conducted largely through virtual means. The ready availability of modern means of digital telecommunications will facilitate these interactions. Finance Ministries around the world will find the resultant cost-cutting welcome in the midst of the severe economic downturn brought about by shutdowns and closures necessitated by the pandemic. It remains to be seen how much of this will eventually also become the longer-term norm, changing the way diplomatic conversations are conducted and perhaps even streamlining diplomatic representations around the world.

## Conclusion

Hopefully, coronavirus will pass soon. However, in its wake, we must nurture the new ideas and approaches we gain from this crisis, while effectively fusing them with our traditional practices. The way that diplomacy—and our online meeting spaces—adapts will be critical in addressing other crucial issues for humanity, from fighting climate change to ensuring peace and dealing with other global issues for years to come. 

*The writer is a member of staff.*



success of this variant is conditional on several fronts. One, a lot may depend on the personalities of the heads of state or government that are involved. Since these are primarily one-on-one telephonic conversations with time constraints, judging the body language and gauging the trajectory of negotiation is problematic.

## Way forward

While these challenges will continue to make the art of diplomacy difficult, there is no turning back. We need to adjust and adopt the best of both worlds: a new, 'hybrid diplomacy' that combines face-to-face and online meetings. Highly delicate political negotiations such as







The tax authorities have powers to invoke provisions of section 122 of the Income Tax Ordinance 2001 (ITO 2001) concerning amendment to the assessment of taxpayers, and, upon conclusion of proceedings, they may establish tax demand through orders. Aggrieved taxpayers have the right to challenge the amended assessment orders before the Commissioner Inland Revenue, Appeals (CIR (Appeals)) who may confirm, modify or annul such assessment orders. In case, the amended assessment order is confirmed or modified by the CIR (Appeals) but the taxpayer who has lodged this appeal is still not satisfied, he can file a second appeal before the Appellate Tribunal Inland Revenue (ATIR). In the course of pending proceedings of appeal, the taxpayer may file application for grant of stay against recovery of tax assessed. Proviso to section 131(5) of the ITO 2001 provides that where recovery of tax has been stayed under this section, such stay order shall cease to have effect on expiration of the said period of 180 days following the date on which the stay order was made and the Commissioner shall proceed to recover the said tax.

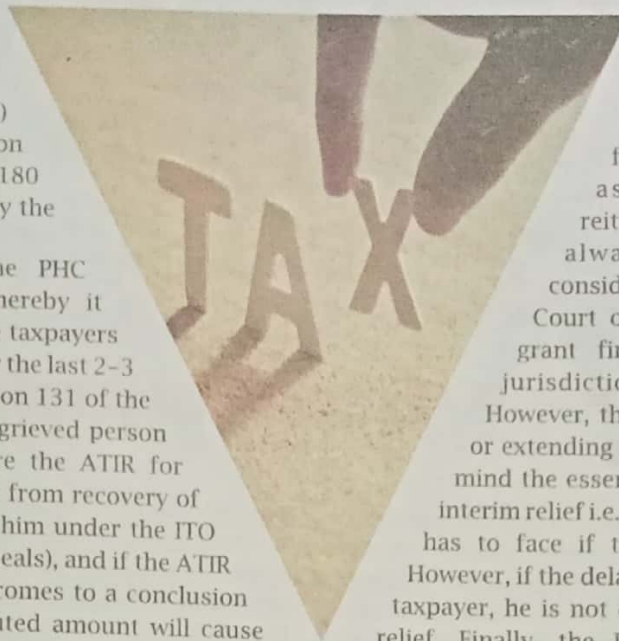


However, in certain cases of tax recovery, the ATIR has granted stay for more than 180 days in the course of pending proceedings of the main appeal. Therefore, the tax authorities have raised objection in the High Courts against granting of stay by the ATIR beyond the statutory period of 180 days. For example, the tax authorities passed orders against taxpayers (namely Syed Adnan Shah & another), which were challenged before the CIR (Appeals) who rejected their appeals. Aggrieved taxpayer filed a second appeal in the ATIR, which was accompanied by miscellaneous application(s) for the grant of stay against recovery of tax demand. The ATIR passed a restraining order, dated 20 November 2018, against the tax authorities for 60 days, which was extended from time to time up to 180 days. On 8 August 2019, the ATIR once again extended the stay period for another 60 days in the wake of pending main appeal of the taxpayers against the order of the CIR (Appeals), thus, aggregating the stay period in total up to 240 days, which is beyond the statutory period of 180 days as provided under proviso to section 131(5) of the ITO 2001. Hence, the tax department filed a writ petition WP 6292-P/2019 (Commissioner Inland Revenue

Bilal Hassan



Peshawar Zone, Regional Tax Office, Peshawar V Syed Adnan Shah & another) in the Peshawar High Court (PHC) pleading that further extension beyond the statutory period of 180 days in the restraining order by the ATIR is beyond its jurisdiction. On 10 September 2020, the PHC decided the writ petition whereby it noted that main appeals of the taxpayers are pending before the ATIR for the last 2-3 years. The first proviso to section 131 of the ITO 2001 provides that the aggrieved person may file an application before the ATIR for restraining the tax department from recovery of the tax amount levied against him under the ITO 2001 as upheld by the CIR (Appeals), and if the ATIR while hearing the application comes to a conclusion that the recovery of the disputed amount will cause undue hardship to the taxpayer, he has the jurisdiction to stay the recovery of the tax for a period not exceeding 180 days in aggregate. However, the High Court while referring to the Islamabad High Court decision delivered in the case of Dowell Schlumberger (Western) SA vs. Federation of Pakistan & others [2016 PTD 1702] held that second proviso which was inserted to section 131 (5) of the ITO 2001 through the Finance Act 2018 is explanatory in nature, clarifying that after the expiry of 180 days, it does not restrict the jurisdiction of the ATIR in further extending the interim relief/stay order. The PHC concluded that following the timeline provided for interim relief under sections 131 to 131(5) and 132(2) (a) of the ITO 2001, the intention of the lawmakers is clear that the ATIR shall decide the appeal pending before it within a period of 6 months and during pendency of the appeal for the said period, the ATIR has the jurisdiction to suspend the operation of recovery of assessed tax. However, if the ATIR fails to decide the appeal



#### About Appellate Tribunal Inland Revenue (ATIR)

After independence of Pakistan, the Income Tax Act, 1922, was adopted as it is. The Income Tax Appellate Tribunal Rules were also adopted accordingly. The appeal before Tribunal lay under section 33 of the Income Tax Act, 1922. However, through Finance Ordinance, 1971, section 31 was deleted as a result of which the first stage of appeal i.e. the Appellate Assistant Commissioner, was abolished and the Tribunal was made as the First Appellate Forum after the order of the Commissioner. This step was considered ineffective and the tier of first Appeal before Appellate Additional Commissioner in departmental hierarchy was restored later. Income Tax Ordinance 1969 (XXI of 1979) though came out with a number of changes. However, the first tier of appeal before AAC and second ITAT both remained intact. Similarly, the Income Tax Act, 2001, replaced earlier Ordinance but the system of first appeal before CIT(A) and second appeal before Income Tax Appellate Tribunal u/s 127 and 131, respectively, remained the same. A material change, however, has been brought in the working of this Appellate forum later. The recommendation of sending reference to High Court by the Tribunal u/s 133(1) has been substituted in 2005. As a result now the order of the Tribunal u/s 132(7) can be challenged directly before the High Court on point of law u/s 133 through filing a reference application. The other change in fact is very material. The designation of Income Tax Appellate Tribunal has been changed to Appellate Tribunal Inland Revenues through Finance (Amendment) Ordinance, 2009 dated 28th October 2009. The change in nomenclature has resulted in Additional responsibilities and all pending and future appeals of Sales Tax and Central Excise have been assigned to this institution in addition to Income Tax cases already pending. Meaning thereby, except Customs the entire Federal Taxes are being dealt by the Appellate Tribunal. In this regard Appellate Tribunal Inland Revenue Rules have been appropriately amended in 2010 and are in vogue. Few amendments in it proposed by the tribunal after 2010 are pending approval of the Ministry in charge.

within the said statutory period, the clog on the jurisdiction of the ATIR, not to extend the interim relief for a further period, cannot be assumed. The High Court reiterated that interim relief is always granted on equitable consideration and in cases where the Court or ATIR has the jurisdiction to grant final relief, it always has the jurisdiction to grant interim relief. However, the ATIR while granting/refusing or extending the interim relief has to keep in mind the essential ingredient for granting the interim relief i.e. the hardship which the taxpayer has to face if the said relief is not granted. However, if the delay in appeal is attributable to the taxpayer, he is not entitled to extension in interim relief. Finally, the PHC held order of the ATIR extending the interim relief for further period as lawful, directing the ATIR to decide all appeals within a period of 3 months from the receipt of the court's judgement.

This is an important decision of the High Court as it provides relief to taxpayers by debarring tax authorities from adopting any coercive measure for recovery of assessed tax.

Hence, funds which otherwise are to be provided to government will remain available for businesses use during the period of stay, which may be extended by the ATIR as long as main appeal remains pending. However, if created tax demand is lawfully recoverable, the prolonged stay against recovery will deprive the government from much-needed revenue and therefore, the decision may cause difficulties in achieving assigned tax targets. ■

*The writer serves as Additional Director Intelligence and Investigation (IR), Federal Board of Revenue.*





## We are now living in world of Structural Realism

Magazine Desk

**I**n today's emerging world order, the Cold War-like confrontation between the United States and China is not as rigid as it was between the US and Russia. Neither the US nor China is in any position to gather a group of committed warriors behind themselves willing to fight for unsaturated material benefits or noble ideological causes.

Solid alliance structures based on common threat perceptions and unshakeable collective identities seem to have already given way to short-term pragmatic cooperation across rival camps. Compartmentalization has now become the buzzword defining frenemy-like relations between countries.

Turkish-Russian relations of the last decade offer a textbook example in this regard. While the two countries are at odds with each other concerning many issues topping the geopolitical agenda of the wider Middle East, the South Caucasus and Eastern Mediterranean regions, they have simultaneously developed the ability to manage their crises lest they should get out of control.

All countries, irrespective of their material power capabilities, are now trying to improve their ability to resist the emerging tumultuous developments by increasingly adopting a nationalistic approach to international relations. Standing unyielding abroad while going through a restoration process at home is now the most feasible strategy that strategists recommended to national decision-makers to put into use.

Speaking the language of populist nationalism and investing in material power capabilities are now common trends across the globe. What better evidence can one find than the European Union, the showcase of liberal understating of international politics, trying now to become a geopolitical power in order to survive in the world of carnivorous powers, such as the US, China and Russia?

While we are going through a transitional process in global politics in which geopolitical cards are being reshuffled, no particular country, including the two behemoths, lays its cards on the table.

Of all international relations theories, it is structural realism that best defines today's world order.

States do not trust each other. The anarchical nature of international relations impedes long-term cooperation. Trust is lacking. International organizations are mere tools used by states in order to gain an advantage at the expense of the other. Material power maximization is the key not only to mere survival but also to regional/global supremacy. States are extremely jealous of their sovereign rights to determine what is right or wrong for themselves. Conflict is the rule whereas cooperation the exemption. Concerns over cheating and relative gains prevent states from developing trust-based relations. Distribution of material power capabilities among states determines who would call the shots in global politics and who would be at the mercy of others; hard power is becoming more and more important than soft power to survive in this jungle. Self-help is the only strategy to rely on. Nationalism outbids internationalism in the competition among alternative ideologies. The nation-state is the most legitimate political community in which liberalism or democracy could survive. The most sacred identity that individuals might theoretically possess is the idea of citizenship. Peace and stability in the world can only be attained through the formation of a stable balance of power among great powers, which are the only actors that matter in international politics. Any attempt to help build a global community of humankind thriving on a universal civilization or political and economic rights is futile.

Though states, middle and small powers, in particular, try to preserve their strategic autonomy, they cannot help but choose between balancing or bandwagoning in the mid- to long-term. So long as they can, many middle powers will try to avoid choosing one side at the expense of the other. Yet this will prove to be extremely difficult, as the stiff competition between Washington and Beijing turns out to become an abject enmity in the years ahead. We are fast moving away from a rule-based international order in which liberal and constructivist accounts of international relations would have more explanatory power than the time-tested structural realism. ■





Historically, a US presidential foreign policy doctrine has served to define the national interest of a specific administration in a public manner, informing the American people and their allies, as well as putting potential adversaries on notice. James Monroe pronounced the first major presidential foreign policy doctrine for the newly-created United States on December 2, 1823. In 1904, Theodore Roosevelt made a significant amendment to the Monroe Doctrine. While many other presidents announced overarching foreign policy goals, the term "presidential doctrine" refers to a more consistently applied foreign policy ideology. It must be noted here that presidential doctrines did not define a specific strategy a president would pursue, their administration's worldview, or how they would utilize American power.

Following is a list of important presidential foreign policy doctrines in the history of USA:

#### **Monroe Doctrine**

Articulated in 1823, this doctrine reflects the concerns and aspirations of a young country, bold enough to assert its power on the world stage. In dictating that Europe maintain a "hands-off" policy toward the Americas, it established the United States as a global power, albeit one with limited, hemispheric ambitions. President James Monroe declared, in his

seventh State of the Union address, that America would not allow European colonies to further colonize in the Americas or interfere with independent states. His ambitions would expand, however, and in future decades, the Monroe Doctrine would prove useful for interventionists and isolationists alike. As the most recognizable and perhaps most venerated of diplomatic principles, its hold on the popular imagination has been so strong that it has defined the limits of acceptable policy options, shaping the range of choices open to presidents for the better part of two centuries. In many ways, the "doctrines" of American foreign policy take their cue from the Monroe Doctrine

#### **Roosevelt's Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine**

In 1904, Theodore Roosevelt issued a corollary to the

Since the earliest days of its existence, the United States has seen fit to announce in grandiose fashion its intentions and purposes to the world at large. The Declaration of Independence, for instance, the grandest statement of all, took aim at a foreign audience more than a domestic one. Subsequent declarations, often imbued with a millennial vision and a sense of exceptionalism, continued to broadcast the nation's principles far and wide. The emergence of the United States as a global power endowed those statements with increasing authority, for Americans as well as for those abroad. In time, they came to take on the status of "doctrine," establishing the precepts of US foreign policy.



## **US Presidential Foreign Policy Doctrines**

A long journey from Interventionism to America First



Monroe Doctrine that significantly altered America's foreign policy. Previously, the US stated that it would not allow for European colonization of Latin America. Roosevelt's amendment went further stating that the US would act to help stabilize economic problems for struggling Latin American nations. As he stated: "If a nation shows that it knows how to act with reasonable efficiency and decency in social and political matters, ... it need fear no interference from the United States. Chronic wrongdoing ... in the Western Hemisphere ... may force the United States ... to the exercise of an international police power." This was the formulation of Roosevelt's "big stick diplomacy."

#### **The Hoover-Stimson Doctrine**

The Hoover-Stimson Doctrine, named for President Herbert Hoover and Secretary of State Henry L. Stimson, reiterated earlier pledges regarding American interests in the Far East. The events precipitating the doctrine's articulation took place in northern China in September 1931, along a section of track on the South Manchurian Railway, which had been administered by Japan since the first decade of the century. An explosion near the railway, subsequently attributed to the Japanese military, was blamed by Japan on Chinese rebels. Japan used the occasion—thereafter known as the Mukden Incident—as a pretext to pacify ever-larger regions of Manchuria. On 7 January 1932, Secretary of State Stimson delivered notes to both Japan and China stating US opposition to the course of events in Manchuria. Stimson's announcement was twofold: first, that the United States would not recognize any treaty that compromised the sovereignty or integrity of China; and second, that it would not recognize any territorial changes achieved through force of arms. It was a statement of pure principle, made even purer by the disinterest and inability of the United States to back up those words with deeds.

#### **Truman Doctrine**

While the Hoover-Stimson Doctrine sought to constrain Japanese militarism, the Truman doctrine addressed a new and more global threat—international communism. Weakened by two world wars, England had relinquished its commitment to Greece and Turkey and urged the US to step in to save them from communist subversion. In 1947

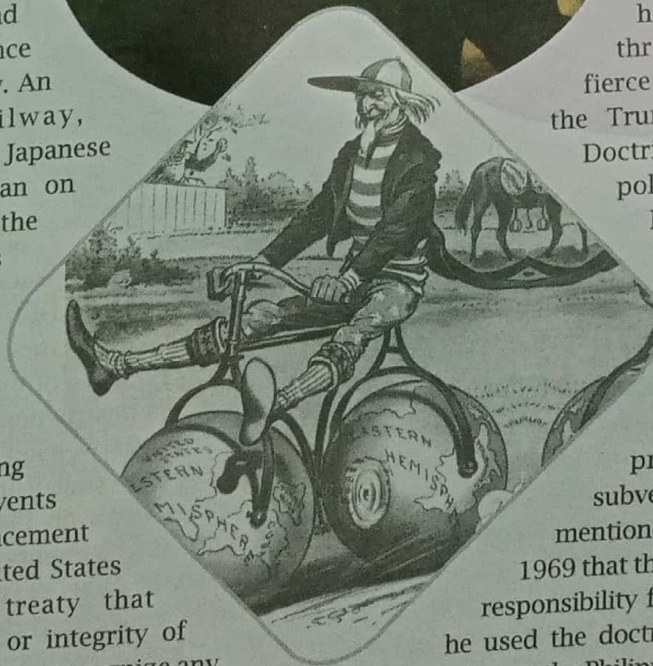
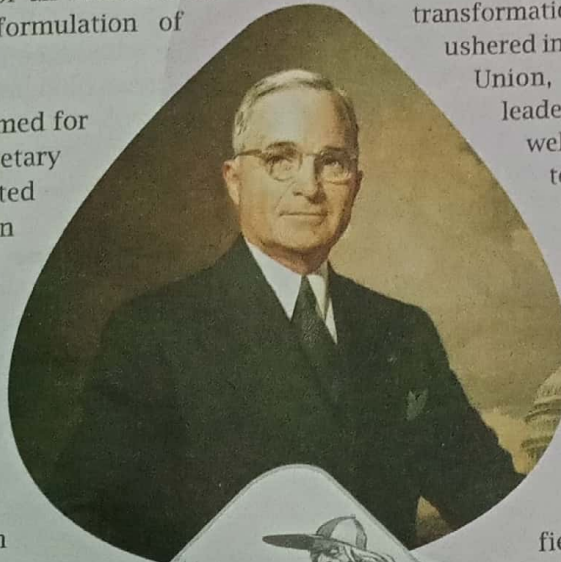
President Truman asked Congress for \$400 million in aid for the two Mediterranean countries. On March 12, 1947, President Truman stated his Truman Doctrine in an address before Congress. Under this, the US promised to send money, equipment, or military force to countries that were threatened by and resisting communism. This began the American policy of containment to try and stop the fall of countries to communism and to halt the expansion of Soviet influence.

#### **Eisenhower Doctrine**

By the mid-1950s the Cold War had undergone a transformation. Stalin's death in March 1953 ushered in a period of transition for the Soviet Union, prompting the Kremlin's new leadership to stabilize its own power as well as Moscow's position with regard to the Nato alliance. Yet changes in the international arena would encourage those men, as well as their counterparts in the West, to view the developing world as a new site for East-West competition. President Dwight D. Eisenhower would engage the Soviets in that global battle for hearts and minds, a conflict that threatened to become particularly fierce in the Middle East. Expanding on the Truman Doctrine, the Eisenhower Doctrine declared that it was the US policy to intervene militarily in the Middle East so as to protect legitimate governments from communism.

#### **Nixon Doctrine**

Concerned that Asian countries were relying too heavily on the United States for protection against communist subversion, President Nixon casually mentioned during a press conference in 1969 that they should gradually assume more responsibility for their own survival. Over time, he used the doctrine to justify the sale of major weapons to the Philippines, Indonesia, South Korea and other countries in Asia and the Middle East. President Nixon insisted the United States would stick with Vietnam until a just peace was arranged. But he was determined to slowly reduce American involvement in the war through a process known as Vietnamization. One of Nixon's goals, in fact, was to limit the type of intervention that Eisenhower had joined in Lebanon, where the commander-in-chief responded to an international crisis by "sending in the marines." He would introduce his new approach on 25 July 1969, the very day





that America began its lengthy retreat from the jungles and marshes of Vietnam.

Detractors have also faulted the Nixon Doctrine for actually expanding the ranks of nuclear-capable nations. According to this critique, pledges to take friends and allies under the American shield left countries to wonder whether, and under what circumstances, they qualified for such protection. Nixon's failure to identify potential beneficiaries led nations such as Israel, India, Pakistan, and Brazil to join the nuclear club.

#### **Carter Doctrine**

President James Earl Carter's focus on human rights alarmed Soviet leaders, who were accustomed to Nixon's disregard for such issues. A series of events, including conflict in the Horn of Africa and the discovery of Soviet troops in Cuba, led Carter to adopt a more hawkish position toward the USSR. Moscow's invasion of neighbouring Afghanistan would bring him more firmly into the cold warrior camp. Responding to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979, President Carter warned that the United States would regard a Soviet attack on the Persian Gulf states as an "assault on the vital interests of the United States." On January 23, 1980, Jimmy Carter stated in a State of the Union Address: "The Soviet Union is now attempting to consolidate a strategic position, therefore, that poses a grave threat to the free movement of Middle East oil." Therefore, military force would be used if necessary to protect American economic and national interests in the Persian Gulf. Within a month of his address, Carter sanctioned the creation of a Rapid Deployment Force, a contingent of as many as 200,000 troops, designed to expedite the projection of American military power around the globe, especially in the Middle East. He would take additional steps to improve America's combat readiness, preparing the groundwork for a reimposition of the military draft and asking Congress for a sharp increase in defence spending. Other policies would impinge on US-Soviet relations as Carter enacted a partial grain embargo and boycotted the Moscow Olympics.

#### **Reagan Doctrine**

Throughout Reagan's two terms in office from 1981 to 1989, and extending to the end of the Cold War in 1991, the Reagan Doctrine was the focal point of US foreign policy. It was a significant change in policy, moving from simple containment to more direct assistance to those fighting against communist governments. Reagan laid out that vision in his State of the Union Address of 6 February 1985. "We must not break faith," he

declared, "with those who are risking their lives—on every continent from Afghanistan to Nicaragua—to defy Soviet-supported aggression and secure rights which have been ours from birth." The president went on to equate anticommunist forces with American colonists who had fought the revolutionary war, describing those latter-day patriots as "freedom fighters" for democracy.

The point of the doctrine was to provide military and financial support to guerilla forces such as the Contras in Nicaragua. Providing aid to those groups was not only morally just but geopolitically sound. "Support for freedom fighters," Reagan avowed, "is self-defence." It would be months before those declarations would take shape as a fixed statement of policy.

The Reagan Doctrine also gave a boost to the CIA, an institution that had come under fire during the 1970s as its abuses of power, investigated by Congress, came to light.

#### **Bush Doctrine**

The Bush doctrine grew out of neoconservative dissatisfaction with President Bill Clinton's handling of the Iraqi regime of Saddam Hussein in the 1990s. The US had beaten Iraq in the 1991 Persian Gulf War.

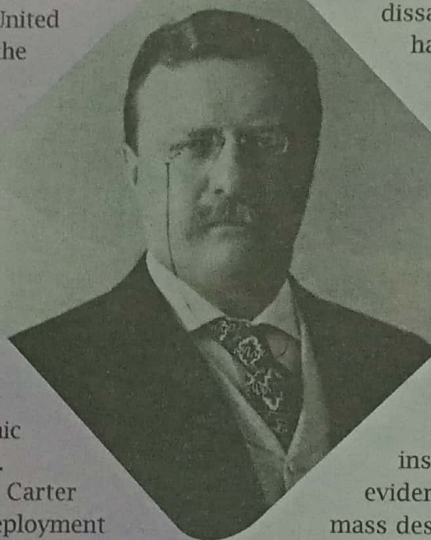
That war's goals, however, were limited to forcing Iraq to abandon its occupation of Kuwait and did not include toppling Saddam.

Many neoconservatives voiced concern that the US did not depose Saddam. Post-war peace terms also dictated that Saddam allow United Nations inspectors to periodically search Iraq for evidence of programmes to build weapons of mass destruction, which could include chemical or nuclear weapons. Saddam repeatedly angered neo-cons as he stalled or prohibited UN inspections.

After the attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon on September 11, 2001, President Bush addressed a joint session of Congress. During his speech, he committed the United States to a global war on terrorism. Using moralistic language, he declared that the countries of the world had to decide if they were for US or the terrorists.

Bush expanded on that when he addressed a joint session of Congress on Sept. 20, 2001. He said: "We will pursue nations that provide aid or safe haven to terrorism. Every nation, in every region, now has a decision to make. Either you are with us, or you are with the terrorists. From this day forward, any nation that continues to harbour or support terrorism will be regarded by the United States as a hostile regime."

The Bush Doctrine essentially died in 2006.





### Obama Doctrine

In 2008, Barack Obama campaigned as a foreign policy moderate, wary of the aggressive interventionism of the George W. Bush administration but willing to take on a leading role for America in combating particularly ominous threats. Although promising to pull the remaining American forces out of Iraq, he vowed to send additional troops to Afghanistan. During his first years as president, Obama generally conformed to these pledges. He authorized several increases in the US military presence in Afghanistan. He began withdrawing US forces from Iraq, albeit at a slower pace than promised in the campaign but one that nonetheless put the administration on a course for complete withdrawal. He worked with foreign allies on trade deals and used drones unilaterally against extremists in Pakistan. The foreign policy of Obama underwent profound change in 2011, a year that saw the departure of Robert Gates and other career foreign policy heavyweights. During 2011, Obama pressured Congress into steep cuts to the defence budget, while simultaneously formulating a new national security strategy that promised to defend the nation with substantially fewer resources. Under the new strategy, the United States would no longer fight large wars of counterinsurgency, as it had in Iraq and Afghanistan, and would instead rely on special operations forces and drones to defeat the remaining terrorists. The US Army and Marine Corps would hence be cut by 100,000 troops. The new strategy also called for a pivot to Asia, the continent on which America's future ostensibly hinged, where American air and naval power rendered a large ground presence unnecessary.

### Trump Doctrine

Like the doctrines of previous presidents, Trump's has been dictated by what the US faces at the moment. The United States has forces deployed widely. They are engaged in combat in the Middle East and have been deployed to Poland and Romania to counter potential Russian moves. The US Navy is involved in non-combat operations in the South China Sea. And US forces remain in a position to strike at North Korea, if necessary. US military capabilities are, therefore, stretched thin, deployed over a vast swath of territory,

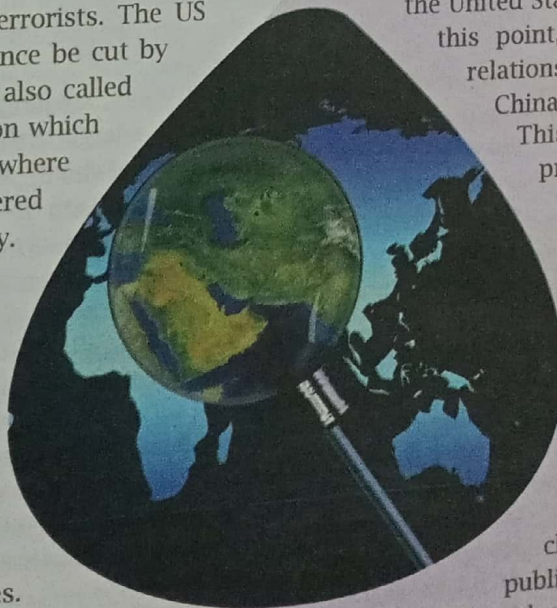
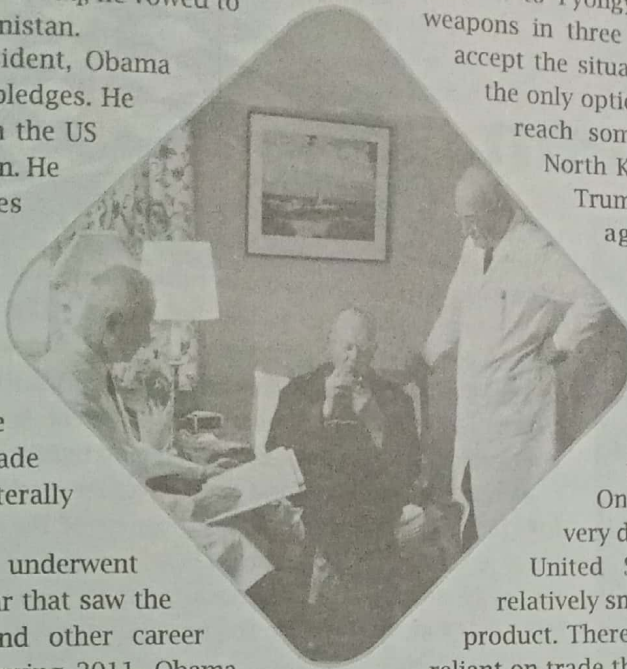
and this creates a problem. An outbreak of war in any one theatre would reduce US capacity in another theatre, increasing the likelihood of a power taking advantage of this weakness.

Consider the North Korea crisis. The US could have responded to Pyongyang's development of nuclear weapons in three ways: launch a war, passively accept the situation or negotiate. Trump chose the only option he could, which was to try to reach some sort of understanding with North Korea. When it comes to Russia, Trump had a similar menu of options: aggressiveness, passivity or diplomacy. But given Russia's involvement in Syria, an area where the US is engaged, as well as the potential threat to Eastern Europe and the Caucasus, Trump had to take the diplomatic route.

On the economic and trade front, a very different landscape exists. For the United States, exports account for a relatively small percentage of gross domestic product. There are some sectors that are more reliant on trade than others, but for the most part, the US economy is not heavily dependent on exports. Other countries, however, are heavily dependent on exports. Trump does not see the free trade regime that has emerged since World War II as advantageous to the United States. He's also constrained by the interests of his core constituency, which voted for him in part because he promised to get tough on trade. Given that the United States must be restrained militarily at this point, economic tools can help shape relationships with adversarial powers like China.

This policy of applying economic pressure has, of course, further aggravated tensions with other countries and degraded the United States' reputation abroad. This is not new. Ever since Vietnam, and really since World War II, the United States has been condemned for a host of policies. But it's not clear that global public opinion has any lasting effect. Trump, therefore, chose to be indifferent to global public opinion, which may just be his personal preference anyway. ■

*The writer is an Assistant Editor at JWT.*





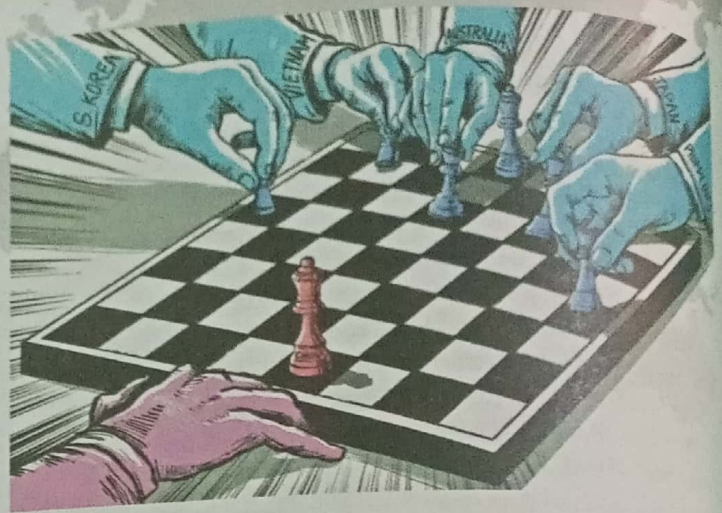
# Power

## Politics in Indian Ocean

Global politics will always retain its relevance and global powers are always in search for a platform to vie. Indian Ocean has become such a platform for the global leadership. Global shift from geo-politics to geo-economics and use of sea lanes for global trade and energy transportation have rendered the importance of ports and seas more discernible. It is in this backdrop that the maritime security domain of Asia and the Pacific is changing rapidly primarily driven by the rise of middle powers, growth and expanding ambitions.

"Throughout history, sea routes have been more important than the land ones ... the Silk Route from Venice to Japan across the Indian Ocean in the medieval and early modern centuries was as important as the Silk Route proper. ... Globalisation relies ultimately on shipping containers, and Indian Ocean accounts for one half of the world's container traffic. Moreover, the Indian Ocean rimland from the Middle East to the Pacific accounts 70% of the traffic of the petroleum products."

— Robert D. Kaplan (Monsoon: The Indian Ocean and the Future of American Power)



Usman Ahmad

### Introduction

Indian Ocean region is considered significant for the major powers in the international political arena. These powers see their security, economic and political interests connected to the region tightly; particularly, because of the large resources, dense population and consumer markets. Their initiatives and policies towards the region determine the course of the international relations, and also those of the region. Therefore, it is necessary to see how these powers design their strategies towards the region and what initiatives they take to pursue their interests, and what can be the possible consequences of these strategies on the region as a whole.

### 1. The United States

The strategy of the United States in Indian Ocean is security-oriented, which pursues more military strength in the region. The strategy can be comprehended through what Trump administration termed Indo-Pacific Strategy, also Free and Open Indo-Pacific Strategy, which considers the Indian Ocean and Pacific region together. Though given a new name, this strategy is not much different from the one adopted by the Obama administration – the Asia-Pacific Rebalance. The projects and initiatives that were the part of Obama strategy are also the main components of Indo-Pacific Strategy, except that in the latter, the US withdrew from the Trans-Pacific Partnership.

A significant aspect of this strategy, keeping in consideration the Indian Ocean region (IOR), is its motivation for a larger role of India here. In fact, this aspect is linked to the George W. Bush's idea of Quad – a coalition of Australia, Japan, US and India. The basic aim of such a priority is to exert influence in the region and also to counter the growing influence of China. As a matter of fact, the US has been looking at India for a balance of power strategy in South Asia and the IOR.

However, to understand the overall strategy of the US in the IOR, it is vital to see its connection to their South Asian policy, that sees to exert pressure on Pakistan for the war against terrorism and also to seek solution for the Afghan issue. The policy sees better economic and military relations with India and a stricter role against Pakistan – one of the reasons being the development of China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC). Through CPEC, China's vision of Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) is being realized, which can further strengthen China's economic relations with Gulf and African countries. It also puts Pakistan in an important position, and makes it a key state in the realization of BRI.

As far as US policies towards Gulf and African countries are concerned, they are highly military-based. The US has established many military bases at Diego Garcia and in the Persian Gulf. Some of its bases are also located at Djibouti, in the Horn of Africa, and in Ethiopia. These bases can house around 5,000 personnel at a time.



and can be moved quickly for military manoeuvres in the region. The military bases at Persian Gulf are mostly directed towards Iran because of its sour relations with the country. Moreover, the same can be used against Russia and China that seem to be making their military presence felt in the region. These military bases have also supported the Gulf countries, especially Saudi Arabia and UAE, to strengthen their military capabilities against Iran. Thus, the role of the US in the IOR can be considered security-oriented, mostly to create a balance of power against China, Russia and Iran.

### 3. China

China sees the Indian Ocean region vital for its grand strategy and significant economic interests. The IOR is indispensable for its Maritime Silk Road initiative which is a sea-based part of the greater BRI. China's Indian Ocean policy includes all the areas around the ocean, stretching from East Asia to Persian Gulf and then to the African continent. An important part of this initiative is CPEC, which is the trade corridor from western China, through Pakistan and reaching Indian Ocean through Gwadar Port. The initiative is a multi-billion-dollar programme, including development and infrastructure projects, with the aim to facilitate economical and speedy Chinese trade to the Middle East and the African countries. China has been establishing important trade links with the Gulf countries and Iran as well. China's technology business has huge markets in Gulf countries.

However, the country has made sure that its relations with countries like Saudi Arabia do not influence those with Iran. Moreover, China has reached to African countries as well, and it is the most-favoured trading partner of the countries in Africa. Recently, China has established military base in Djibouti - the only military initiative by China in recent years. Moreover, it has participated in military exercises in Indian Ocean with Russia. However, China has always placed more importance to economic priorities in the IOR.

In the light of above information, it is not difficult to see an intense power struggle in the Indian Ocean region between the two great powers of the world - US and China. However, it is vital that this competition must not turn into military adventurism. Competition in the economic sphere can help countries like Afghanistan, Pakistan, India and Iran to benefit to a large extent; however, untamed power politics based on military dominance can only lead to further misery for the South Asian, Central Asian, Middle Eastern and the Southeast Asian regions.

### 3. Russia

Russia has been emerging as an important military power at the international and regional arena, particularly, under Vladimir Putin. Though it has lost the glory it once possessed within USSR, it has gained new political and military role since the dawn of the 21st century.

As far as Indian Ocean is concerned, Russia sees it in the light of striking a balance against the growing role of the US. Though it has not been able to counter that alone, it has made some important difference in cooperation with China. Russia, very recently, was involved in a military training with China and Iran in Indian Ocean. Iran has been an arch-rival to the US, which has always countered US interests in the Middle East, Central Asia and Afghanistan, and Russia has always backed Iran's such initiatives. Moreover, it has been involved in serious confrontations with the US in North Arabian Sea recently. Russian and US ships hit with angry glare in the sea. The US Fifth Fleet claimed that the USS Farragut, was "aggressively approached" by the Russian Navy.

While the Russian Ministry of Defense criticized the American accusation and said that the US ship "crossed the Russian navy's traffic lane in a deliberate breach of international health regulations."

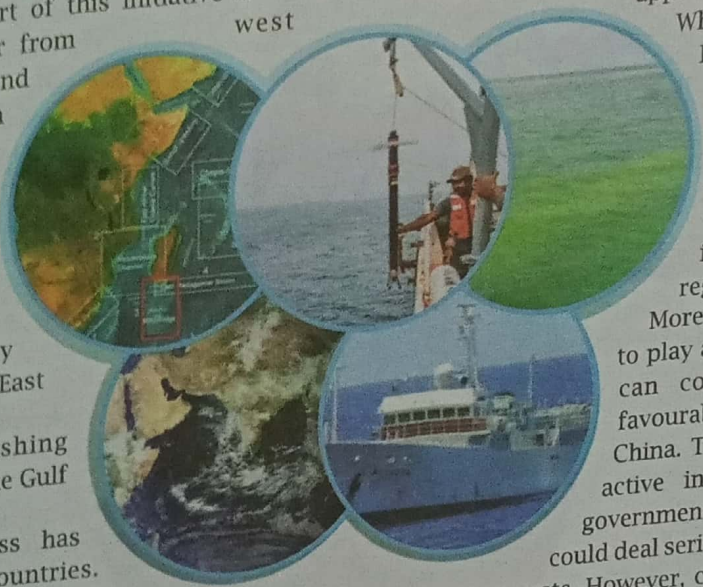
Moreover, Russia has been trying to play a role in Sri Lanka so that it can convince the country for favourable relations with Russia and China. The US and India have been active in Sri Lanka to back the government of their choice, which could deal serious blow to the Chinese and Russian interests.

However, currently, Russia and China seem to have more favourable circumstances in Sri Lanka, where China has an important sea port.

Thus, Russia's role in Indian Ocean region also appears to be more security-oriented. It has an imperative role to balance the power against the US, and in cooperation with China, which can provide for the financial support, Russia can prove to be a serious challenge for the US.

### 4. India

India has always considered Indian Ocean as 'its own' and has been making efforts to establish its dominance in the sea. However, it has been facing severe challenges from China, in particular. India's current strategy in Indian Ocean region can be understood through Narendra Modi's so-called vision of "Security and Growth for All in the Region" or SAGAR. Within this vision, India considers the region to extend from the Gulf of Aden in the west to Burma and Thailand in the east. However, it excludes Pakistan from the region, placing more emphasis on Chabahar Port in Iran.





India's exclusion of Pakistan is because of the long-lasting troubled relations between both the countries. Moreover, as Pakistan has gained importance as a result of CPEC, India wants to counter it through Chabahar. In the process, India also wants to counter growing influence of China, with which it has serious border tensions that experienced further deterioration recently. India is also being backed by the US to create a balance of power against China in the region.

Another Indian tactic within the Indian Ocean region is its Look East policy that seeks to establish strong commercial

countries became the target of multinational European and American oil companies, that developed their oil reservoirs and, at the same time, utilized them for their own benefits. In fact, the oil politics in both Iran and Saudi Arabia kept both the countries under the control of Western powers. Unfortunately, both the countries also developed differences between each other on the basis of sect. Even today, they are arch-rival to each other because of the same, and also because the same has been utilized by the Western powers to further harm their relations.

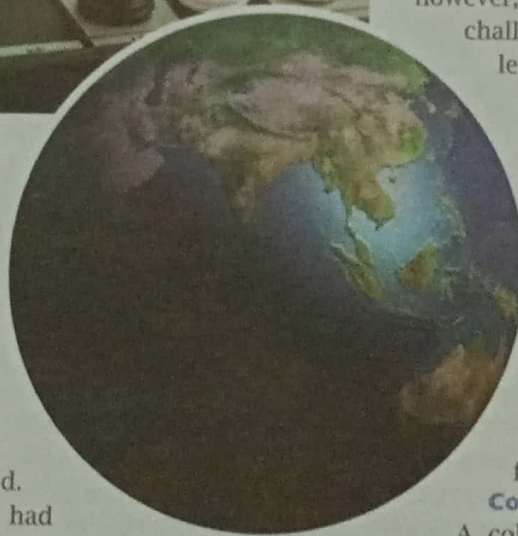
Iran, Saudi Arabia and other Gulf countries have imperative role in Indian Ocean because they have huge transportation of oil through the region. These transportation routes and the important choke points in the Persian Gulf have been determining the role of regional and international players to a large extent, and will keep on doing so for some time in near future.

Pakistan is also being considered an important country in Indian Ocean because of its sea ports in Karachi and Gwadar. CPEC has further amplified this role and put Pakistan relevant in the regional and international politics. Pakistan's strategic importance has always been accepted; however, because of certain politico-economic challenges, the country has not been able to

leave its marks as it could have. China's rising power, involving Pakistan's role, and the US concerns and efforts to put a check on that power have brought Pakistan at a very crucial juncture of its history. Moreover, the US's dependence on Pakistan to strike a peace deal in Afghanistan has also made Pakistan's role significant. However, it is to be seen how the policy and decision-makers take advantages of these facts and scenario.

#### Conclusion

A cold war among major powers, which collectively account for nearly half the global economy, has already started. This will also lead to the formation of blocs in the Indian Ocean region, with China on one side and India on the opposing side. Such agreements and holding the exercise at Malabar under the Quad platform both in Bay of Bengal and Arabian Sea is a clear manifestation of the Indian desire to contain China in the IOR and dilute China's growing influence over rim states. The Indian approach is indirectly aimed at marginalizing Pakistan's role in the region while promoting its own role as net security provider. This state of affairs will have scathing economic, technological and military repercussions for the regional countries, including Pakistan. ■



ties with the South East and East Asian nations. At the same time, India has been able to establish closer trade relations with Saudi Arabia, the UAE, Iran, Qatar and Oman to secure energy resources for its growing economy. Indian's relations with GCC and Iran are imperative as far as Pakistan's relations with them are concerned. Though GCC countries have always had favourable relations with Pakistan, they have prioritized India in certain cases because of its large consumer market.

Indian role in IOR currently has the backing of the US; however, it has also made sure that its role is not purely security-oriented. Though US will further push and support India for such a role, particularly, to counter China, it is very difficult and inappropriate for India to pursue it, as it will ultimately, put India in a difficult position as far as its economic relations are concerned.

#### 5. Saudi Arabia, Iran, Pakistan

Other important countries within the Indian Ocean region are Saudi Arabia, Iran and Pakistan. Saudi Arabia and Iran are two important countries in Persian Gulf. They have large petroleum resources, which have always kept them relevant in the region. Both the



# Islamic Concept of War and

# ISLAMOPHOBIA



Islam being a religion of peace provides a complete code of life, covering both individual and collective aspects of human life under the sovereignty of Allah Almighty; the most Compassionate. The Holy Prophet Muhammad (SAWW) was also sent as a mercy for all the creatures (Surah al-Anbia:107). Then, how can it be possible that such a religion of mercy could spread extremism and intolerance in the world? Misperceptions, propaganda for selling wars serving Western interests and some mistakes on the part of Muslims have led the world towards Islamophobic mindset. Taking the reader chronologically, while explaining Islamic concept of war, will substantiate my argument in the light of recent global developments.

Muhammad Mohtasim

## Just war doctrine of Islam

Islamic law divides the world into three regions: Dar-ul-Harb, i.e. a region having no treaty of nonaggression with Muslims; Dar-ul-Ahd or Dar-ul-Sulh, i.e. a region which has signed a treaty of peace with Muslims; and Dar-ul-Islam, i.e. an area where Muslims can practice their religion as a ruling sect by following Islamic principles in their individual and collective lives. In the light of this division, war should always be defensive in nature—either fought for protection of ideology and moral environment suitable for practicing Islam, or for protection of Muslims and their nationhood; as given in Surah al-Infal verse 39 which ordains: "Fight against them until there is no more persecution (fitna), and religion be all of Allah alone." Then Allah has said in Surah an-Nisa verse 75, "What is wrong with you that you fight not in the cause of Allah, and for those weak, ill-treated and oppressed among men, women and children, whose cry is: 'O our Lord! Rescue us from this town whose (affluent and influential) people are oppressors, and appoint for us



some guardian from Your presence, and make someone our helper from Your presence?"

The term used for war in Islam is *Qitaal* or *Jihad fi Sabeelillah* and it is referred to as a lower degree of jihad. Jihad bin-Nafs is Jihad-e-Akbar; the superlative degree of Jihad which is personal struggle in devotion to Islam involving spiritual discipline. This Islamic perspective



that looted material is not better than dead ones.

- Islam also prohibits destruction of fields, crops, villages and other things of public use by denoting it as *fasad*.
- If any pact is being signed between parties, then violation of that pact is also prohibited, even in war times.
- Islam then directs Muslims to ensure diplomatic immunity to avoid entanglement of the issue.

- Protection of prisoners of war (PoWs) is also ensured in Islamic state.

- Muslims have been ordained that if an enemy wants peace, they must stop war and sign peace treaty at first instance.

These humanitarian principles are now adopted by the so-called civilized West which has fought two bloody world wars to reach this conclusion and still Islam to them is in 'crisis' spreading fear among people belonging to different nations of the world.

#### **Jihad, terrorism and Islamophobic lens of the West**

Historically, Islam supports pluralism by recognizing all religions, sanctifying their gods and promoting peaceful coexistence. Quran also acknowledges *Ahl-e-Kitaab* (People of the Book— the Christians, the Jews and the Zoroastrians). But this is not the case in other religions. More prominently, Christians and Jews see Muslims as their enemies. Holy wars between Muslims and non-Muslims were fought by Holy Prophet (SAWW) himself, and then by the Pious Caliphs. Later crusades and other religion-based wars were also fought. It is a historical fact that most of such wars were imposed on Muslims and they fought those in defensive mode. Main reason behind the conflict was the clash of ideologies between religions.

also reflects tendency of avoiding war. Then, Holy Prophet (SAWW) usually adopted pacifist strategy in war. The only purpose to fight war was to remove evil, not to kill an enemy or seek expansion of the Islamic state. Moreover, Quran gives lesson of tolerance to Muslims by saying that *Allah is with the patient*. This was the reason that Hazrat Ali (RA) was fighting, in a holy war, with an opponent who then spat on him. Hazrat Ali (RA) stopped beating him while saying, "Priorly, I was fighting in the way of Allah and now matter has turned personal so, I will tolerate."

When this is the tolerance taught to Muslims, then how he can be an extremist while being a Muslim, at the same time. Man being born on the nature of Islam is tolerant and wants peace by spreading love and affection that is sine qua non for peaceful, mutual existence – supporting pluralism as seen in Misaaq-e-Madina (The Madina Charter).

#### **Islamic Humanitarian law**

- Islam prohibits Muslims from attacking in night or when the enemy is unaware of the attack that they could launch. This doesn't mean to avoid surprise as a strategic tool. Hazrat Ans Bin Malik (RA) said that whenever the Holy Prophet (SAWW) reached at war destination in night, he (SAWW) didn't attack till dawn.
- The Holy Prophet (SAWW) prohibited Muslims from throwing enemy in fire or setting their houses on fire by saying that no one can punish anyone with fire except Allah, the Creator of fire.
- The Holy prophet (SAWW) also prohibited tied-up killings.
- Islam prohibits looting or plundering the place under attack. The Holy Prophet (SAWW) has said

## **"WHO ARE YOU TO TALK ABOUT THE STRUCTURING OF ISLAM?"**



"Attacking Muslims has become one of the most important tools for European politicians to hide their failure. Some prime ministers and presidents are now resorting to this cheap policy, which was previously used by fascist groups to gain votes. European leaders who are stuck in domestic politics and failed in foreign policy try to cover up their inadequacy by targeting Islam. In fact, Macron wants to hide the crisis that France and French society face by talking about the crisis of the Islamic world. It is understood that with the law combating extremism, the main purpose is not to fight fanaticism but to settle accounts with Islam and Muslims. We expect him to act as a responsible statesman rather than act like a colonial governor."

PRESIDENT RECEP TAYYIP ERDOĞAN

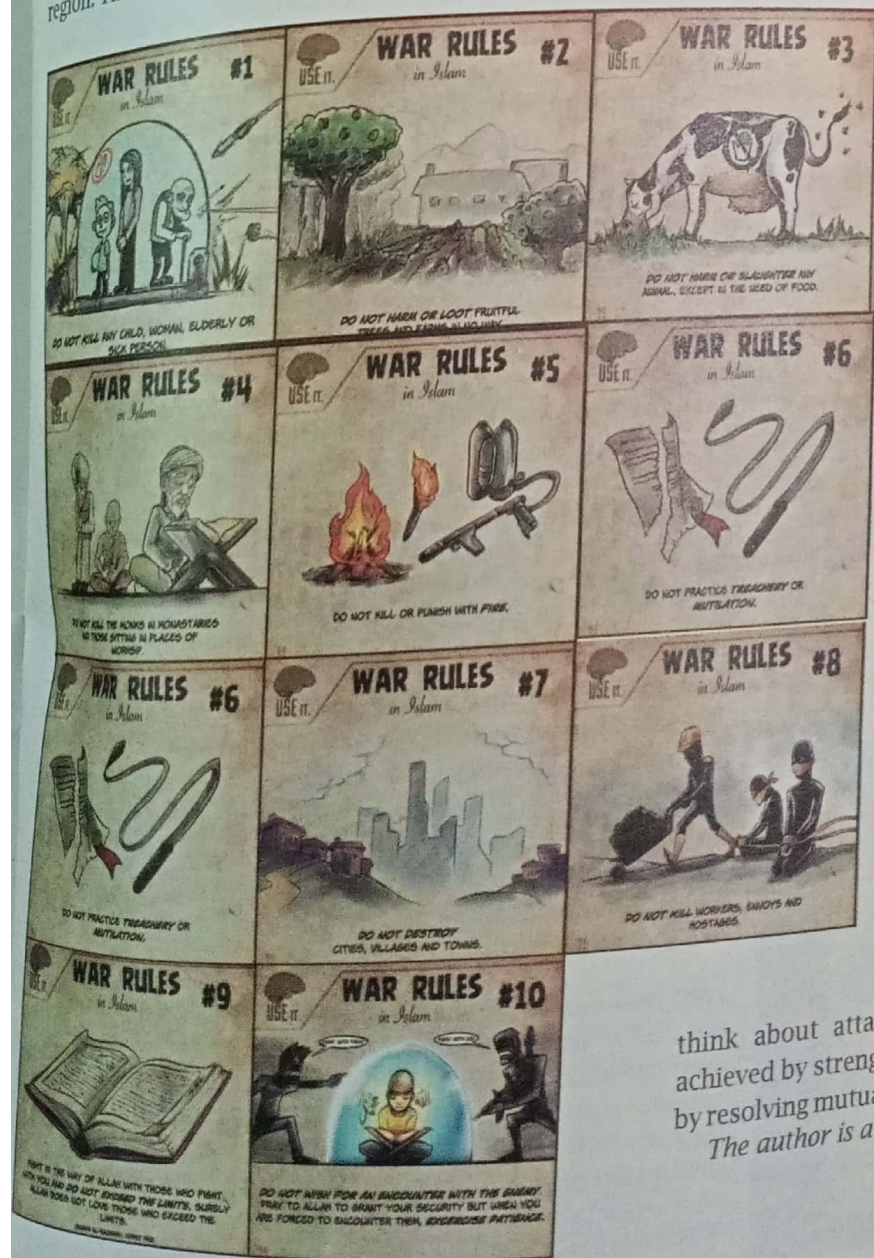


Islam, as the only preserved revealed religion, is the reason of animosity of Christians and Jews. History shows that most of the Islamic states had protected the rights of non-Muslims. But such was not the case in non-Muslim states as they tried fully to annihilate Muslims and eradicate Islam from the face of the world but Quran says the command is from none but Allah. The Islamophobia prevalent today has its roots in the creation of Israel as a state to keep a check on moves in the Middle East—a Muslim-majority region. Then, response of Muslim Ummah in case of Al-Aqsa Mosque attack in 1969 was propagandized to change perceptions of people about Islam and the Muslims. Western states, especially the United States, spread terrorism to keep intact its hegemony and secure its own national interests at the expense of image of Muslims and that of Islam. Middle East, which was a land of natural resources, remained prone to US double-edged policies—as evident in the case of Iraq war—for securing strategic stability to control this region. Then, Jihadists were created and used by US itself

for supporting war in Afghanistan against the USSR. Isn't it perplexing that the United States, which once used Muslims for its own cause, has now labelled them as terrorists in the whole world? Reaction to these moves was in the form of 9/11 attacks in 2001 which created fear across the globe and took USA with surprise—Many theorists believe that it was also a work of CIA. Nevertheless, it was the time for the US to harvest its self-sown crop of terror. This attack followed a series of suicide bombings in many public places the world over, creating fear even in Muslims, leading them to question the Muslimhood of the attackers. Many investigations revealed the fact that many non-Muslims are running this system. They use to kidnap Muslim youngsters and train them and use them to attack targeted place(s). These moves actually destroyed the image of Muslims and Islam in the whole world. Muslim governments had struggled to curtail such attacks and are successful, but perceptions usually take decades to change.

Furthermore, Muslims all over the world are oppressed now but still they are called oppressors and terrorists. It seems illogical. We have examples of Israeli Zionists' plunder and destruction of Muslims in Palestine and Syria, genocide of Kashmiris at the hand of Hindus, wanton killings of Afghan Muslims at the hand of Christians, and so on. States individually should promote their soft image abroad by enhancing cooperation, promoting peaceful coexistence and spreading tolerance in their societies. Establishing a TV channel, as was agreed to by Pakistan, Turkey and Malaysia, for the promotion of peaceful Islamic doctrines and preaching religion in its true sense can also be a productive step to mould people's stance. Moreover, Muslims need to rise as an Ummah and be in unison on a single decision at every matter for this noble cause of peace. Revival of Caliphate may prove a very productive step to counter such attacks and notions. It will establish a Muslim deterrence against the West as it would be difficult for a nation then to even think about attacking Muslims. Unity could also be achieved by strengthening and enhancing role of OIC and by resolving mutual issues within Muslim world. ■

The author is a student of law (final year) at Quaid-e-Azam University, Islamabad.





JWT Edit. Board  
about your educational background?

**J**ahangir's World Times (JWT): First of all, please tell us about your educational background?  
**MS:** My educational journey started at Sohail Public School, Mahesar Wada. After winning a 5-year scholarship at Cadet College, Larkana, I qualified FSc (Pre-engineering). For graduation, I joined GC University, Lahore, which became my alma mater that transformed me from an ordinary student to a gentleman civil servant.

**JWT:** Since you have been allocated to Police Service of Pakistan (PSP), what was the feature of this service that attracted you most?  
**MS:** Police is not just another department of the state; it is the face of the state and primary guarantor of life, liberty and property of the people. Few departments significantly serve public in times of crisis; fewer still run an extra mile to ease the sufferings of the left-out sections of the society; there is hardly any profession that responds first to every challenges state confronts: police do all three.

**JWT:** How much helpful did you find Jahangir's World Times (JWT) during your preparation for CSS exam?

**MS:** JWT magazine is not a magazine; it is the mentor one can carry all along the way. The compilation of relevant articles, interviews, analyses on key issues of national, regional and international scope make this magazine a bible for all CSS aspirants coming from different regions, ages and attempts. It would not be an exaggeration to stress that JWT is one-stop solution to all problems faced by CSS aspirants.

**JWT:** What, in your opinion, is the key to making a difference in written part of CSS exam?

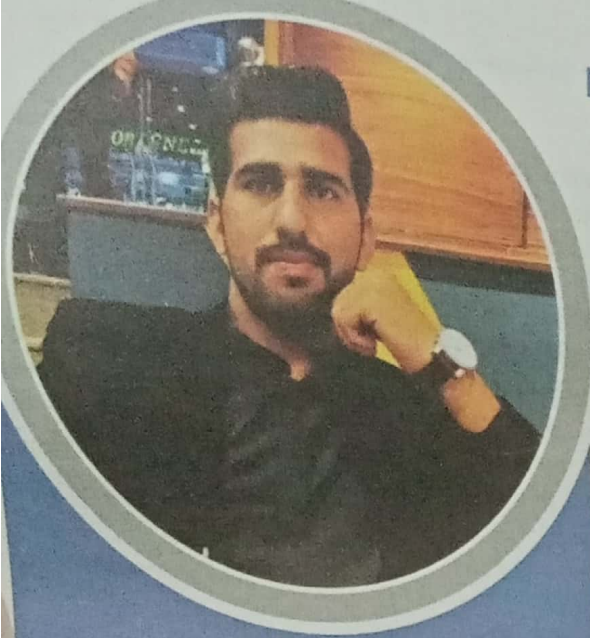
**MS:** Firstly, MCQs can boost the written part and diminish chances of failure even if the subject gets an unfortunate titanic hit. Secondly, more focus on General Science and Ability is the need of the hour. The results of past three years bear testimony to the fact that Pakistan Affairs and Current Affairs have been over-prepared yet under-graded. GSA is medicine to this. Lastly, paper-attempting skills acquired through mock and individual assessments can turn the tide for you.

**JWT:** Generally, compulsory subjects are considered low-scoring, what was your strategy to get through these very papers?

**MS:** This is not always the case. Compulsory papers can yield fairly better scores if prepared for in an organized manner. To start with, Composition paper can be the scoring one if aspirants have reasonable command over grammatical skills, précis and comprehension. In 2020, this subject yielded scores as high as 90. GSA is Greek to many due to their own negligence. Prepare detailed notes first, then shorten them to one-liners and then practice answers. Islamiyat is also an uphill task for many, the salvation lies in reading research papers, drawing comparison of Islamic ideas with other religions and being carrier of the soft, inclusive and to the point narrative rather than just focusing *ayats* and the translations that are barely explained.

**JWT:** How answers should be written to get maximum marks?

**MS:** First of all, reading all questions is the most important task; one must underline the 'word of question' (e.g. Discuss, describe, explain, critically evaluate, etc.) followed by identifying the burden of proof or the parts of the question. All questions must be brainstormed at one time on last page in order to find the best, the best, the better and the best series to attempt. Answer should have a brief synopsis focusing major aspects of answer. An answer should be written in 35-40 minutes



“It would not be an exaggeration to stress that JWT is one-stop solution to all problems faced by CSS aspirants.”

In Conversation with  
**Muhammad Shareef (PSP)**

26th in Pakistan  
2nd in Sindh Rural, CSS 2019-20

#### Detailed Marks Sheet

Subject	Marks
<b>Compulsory Subjects</b>	
Essay	41
Précis & Composition	58
GSA	61
Current Affairs	47
Pakistan Affairs	61
Islamiyat	71
<b>Optional Subjects</b>	
International Relations	113
History of USA	81
International Law	40
Gender Studies	55
Sindhi	71
<b>Total Written</b>	<b>699</b>
Viva Voce	125
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>824</b>



## Interview Experience

The interview started with brief introduction and history and culture of Sindh. The panel asked many questions on the literature of Sindh. There were three main areas in overall interview: Personal profile, last degree and the subjects. Situational analysis required presence of some questions were also based on commonsense. The most interesting discussion was on occupational groups and their composition. Structured answers, fluent English and composed exposure made the difference.

Word limit of 700-800. Introduction should be written in line with the question asked; critical analysis should highlight what is good, and criticize what is wrong based on stakeholders' analysis. Headings should be self-explanatory with adequate explanation, not exceeding 4-6 sentences. Diagrams, tables, maps, references and other charts can help in writing relative difference. Conclusion must be written as summary of the body of the answer.

**JWT: Should there be some word limit kept in mind while writing answers?**

**MS:** Word limit can vary based on the nature of the question, time and pressure in exam room. However, all questions must be attempted in subtle balance because all carry equal marks. Moreover, aspirants should not drag answer just to fill the pages. It is far better to write 6 relevant pages than 10 pages with mixture of relevancy and irrelevancy. One must remember: 'Brevity is the soul of wit'.

**JWT: How did you structure your Essay and what was your strategy for Précis and Composition Paper?**

**MS:** Although qualifying Essay in CSS is considered the toughest job on earth or even mission impossible, I did it thrice. Firstly, selection of the topic is very important, followed by brainstorming thesis statement and rough outline with the help of levels of analysis. Fair outline be written in sentence form to make it self-explanatory along with cases in point. Body paragraphs must

### Advice for fresh aspirants

CSS is a cherished dream and its fulfilment requires enormously vigilant eyes. The process is a bit lengthy, demanding time, energy, motivation and patience. You must do your part well, leave everything to Allah Almighty. You have plans; He also has plans and His plans are the best. Failure should not shatter your core. Always believe that morning will come; it has no choice. You must strive for your aim and whenever you find slightest doubt, 'Imagine 'Sassi' who tore mountains to unite with her love.

have tangible information and should stick to the agenda rather than starting a discussion within discussion. Conclusion should be in line with already discussed points and no new perspective should be introduced in the end. Correct English, right interpretation of the topic and ability to cope psychological pressure are important. Never cram an Essay; learn the art and master it, and you will play with words.

For Précis paper, I consulted past papers and teachers for evaluation.

**JWT: How a new aspirant should start his/her preparation for CSS exam?**

**MS:** A novice should plan for a 16-month preparation. English is to be covered initially, followed by Essay and composition. Prepare one subject at one time, newspaper reading and, if necessary, individual mentors/ academy should be consulted. First 10 months should be about knowledge-gathering, notes-making and MCQs preparation; next three months for revision followed by practice and assessment. Neither appear in CSS exam prematurely and fail absolutely nor appear when age-limit leaves you no choice except to 'appear'.

### My Tips:

#### Selection of optional subjects

Optional subjects should be selected based on these factors combined: academic background, personal interest, overlapping with other subjects and the length of syllabus. The best subject is the best prepared one. Marking trend is too uncertain to

rely upon.

### Notes-making

Select a topic, read it thoroughly and organize it into different headings. Standard books, CSS-specific booklets, research papers and newspaper should also be consulted to incorporate factual, descriptive and analytical information. Try to add perspective asked in past papers as well as the contemporary debate. First notes should be lengthy, followed by shorter ones or even one-liners serving the purpose of the revision. ■



### Rapid Fire

Your inspiration	My mentor, Jamil Ahmed Khaskheli
Attempts	02
Qualification	B.H (honors)
Alma mater	GC University, Lahore
Schooling medium	Sindhi
Your study schedule	10 hours a day
Your sources	Recommended books, JWT books and magazine, Google Scholar
Group preferences	1. PSP 2. PAS 3. Customs
Academy or Institute you joined	World Times Institute
Why PSP?	Uniform is my passion; Public safety is my responsibility; in effective policing lies Pakistan's safety, security and honour
Hobbies	Parliamentary debates (Roll of Honour in debates)
Fave personality	Sheikh Ayaz (Sindhi poet)
Fave book(s)	Who Rules the World? by Noam Chomsky
Fave quote	Move mountains or die trying
Secret of your success	"The only way we can defeat hard luck is hard labour."
Your role model	Hazrat Ali (RA)





# GWADAR

The 'Silicon Valley of Pakistan'

During the recent months, Gwadar Port, the flagship project in China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), has attracted a lot of attention from investors from China and other countries. It is becoming an industrial and investment hub of Pakistan. Since China has vast experience in port building and infrastructure, this experience may help Pakistan in making Gwadar the 'Silicon Valley' of Pakistan.

Magazine Desk

**C**hina's experience in building and developing ports and basic infrastructure is certainly benefitting Pakistan and it is expected that soon Gwadar will become the 'Silicon Valley' of Pakistan and could emerge as center for promotion of economic activities at regional and global level. Gwadar, also called the city of

fishermen like Shenzhen, China's first special economic zone, is of central importance in the construction of China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), and projects like Gwadar Port, Gwadar Airport and Gwadar Free Zone are among the priorities of the Government of Pakistan.

Gwadar is fast becoming a hub of industrial and investment activities in Pakistan. China is also assisting Pakistan in the construction of Gwadar Port, a natural deep water port which distinguishes it from other nearby ports.

Gwadar Port is also, thanks to its strategic geographical location, significantly important because it is located at the head of the Gulf of Oman and the Persian Gulf, which can easily establish trade relations with other countries in the region.

Under the CPEC, nine special economic zones will be set up across Pakistan to promote industrialization, which will definitely increase Pakistan's exports, create a wide range of employment opportunities, and help Pakistan's connectivity with Central Asian states, including China. And trade ties with other regional countries will also be enhanced.

In the field of economic zones, there is vast scope and potential for cooperation and exchanges between China and Pakistan. China is known around the world for its construction and development of special economic zones. Recently, while addressing the 40th anniversary of the establishment of country's first "Shenzhen Special Economic Zone," Chinese President Xi Jinping vowed to further expand reform and openness.

The importance of the special economic zone can be

gauged from the fact that Shenzhen was counted as a small village famous for its fishing but the village has become, in just four decades, a modern city and today it is known as China's 'Silicon Valley' because of its tremendous economic activity.

During the journey from 1980 to 2019, the city's GDP grew by 20.7% annually and reached to US\$ 400 billion. Shenzhen's total imports and exports were US\$ 431 in 2019.

The living standard of the Shenzhen people has changed dramatically and they have access to quality services in all areas including education, medical care, housing and so on. In the light of these facts, Shenzhen is today considered one of the best and most exemplary models of sustainable development in China.

The traditional strong friendship between China and Pakistan is growing stronger with the passage of time. The two countries are not only strong supporters of each other on global and regional platforms but also want strong economic and social development of each other. In terms of development, the CPEC has recently become a strong foundation of stable economic relations between the two countries. The construction of CPEC projects in Pakistan is in full swing and Prime Minister Imran Khan has said that the entire nation is united for the protection and construction of CPEC. In the long run, CPEC aims to develop not only Pakistan but the region as a whole.

Pakistan is witnessing a movement of business incubators and startups. It is encouraging that youth is responding to such opportunities. The analysis of this tide reveals that efforts are yielding positive benefits. If we say it's time to ride the tide, then it is inevitable that we highlight the opportunities the CPEC presents. Some investment from Chinese investors in this sector can make a huge impact. Pakistan is making progress in implementing infrastructure projects under CPEC but it's time to focus on potential technological spillovers from China. ■



**I**t has become increasingly clear that climate change is not only real but beginning to bite. Now that much of the population is finally feeling the urgency, and that the Covid-19 lockdown has put much of our frenetic commerce on hold, we have space for thinking and discussing ways and means to combat climate change and save our planet. Here are 10 most pragmatic solutions to this global problem:

### 1. Abandon Fossil Fuels

The first challenge is eliminating the burning of coal, oil and, eventually, natural gas. This is perhaps the most daunting challenge as denizens of richer nations who literally eat, wear, work, play and even sleep on the products made from such fossilized sunshine.

Oil is the lubricant of the global economy; hidden inside such ubiquitous items as plastic and corn, and fundamental to the transportation of both consumers and goods. Coal is the substrate, supplying roughly half the electricity used worldwide—a percentage that is likely to grow, according to the International Energy Agency.

So, try to employ alternatives when possible—plant-derived plastics, biodiesel, wind power—and to invest in the change, be it by divesting from oil stocks or investing in companies practicing carbon capture and storage.

### 2. Upgrade Infrastructure

Buildings worldwide contribute around one-third of all greenhouse gas emissions, even though investing in thicker insulation and other cost-effective, temperature-regulating steps can save money in the long run. Electric grids are at capacity or overloaded, but power demands continue to rise. And bad roads can lower the fuel economy of even the most efficient vehicle. Investing in new infrastructure, or radically upgrading existing highways and transmission lines, would help cut greenhouse gas emissions and drive economic growth in developing countries. Although it takes a lot of cement, a major source of greenhouse gas emissions, to construct new buildings and roads, energy-efficient buildings and improved cement-making processes (such as using alternative fuels to fire up the kiln) could reduce greenhouse gas emissions in the developed world and prevent them in the developing world.

### 3. Move Closer to Work

One way to dramatically curtail transportation fuel needs is to move closer to work, use mass transit, or switch to walking, cycling or some other mode of transport that does not require anything other than human energy. There is also the option of working from home and telecommuting several days a week. Cutting down on long-distance travel would also help cut most notably aeroplane flights which are one of the fastest growing sources of greenhouse gas emissions and a source that arguably releases such emissions in the worst possible spot (higher in the atmosphere). Flights are also one of the few sources of globe-warming pollution for which there is not a viable alternative. Restricting flying to only critical, long-distance trips would help curb such emissions.

### 4. Consume Less

The easiest way to cut back on greenhouse gas emissions is simply to buy less stuff. Whether by forgoing an automobile or employing a reusable grocery sack, cutting back on consumption results in fewer fossil fuels being burned to extract, produce and ship products around the globe. So, think green when making purchases.

### 5. Be Efficient

A potentially simpler and even bigger impact can be made by doing more with less.

Citizens of many developed

**10 Solutions**  
**CLIMATE**  
Possibilities for staving off

Dealing with climate change news can be a news story seems to be worse than the latest news but let's not forget that scientists have to quite literally save the planet, and our



countries are profligate wasters of energy, whether by speeding in a gas-guzzling sport-utility vehicle or leaving the lights on when not in a room. Good driving and good car maintenance can limit the amount of greenhouse gas emissions from a vehicle.

Similarly, employing more efficient refrigerators, air conditioners and other appliances can cut electric bills. Such efforts can also be usefully employed at work, whether that means installing more efficient turbines at the power plant or turning the lights off when you leave the office.

### 7. Stop Cutting Down Trees

Every year, 33 million acres of forests are cut down. Timber harvesting in the tropics alone contributes 1.5 billion metric tons of carbon to the atmosphere. That represents 20 percent of human-made greenhouse gas emissions and a source that could be avoided relatively easily.

Improved agricultural practices along with

paper recycling and forest management could quickly eliminate this significant chunk of emissions.

### 8. Unplug

Televisions, stereo equipment, computers, battery chargers and a host of other gadgets and appliances consume more energy when seemingly switched off, so unplug them instead. Purchasing energy-efficient gadgets can also save both energy and money—and thus prevent more greenhouse gas emissions. Swapping old incandescent lightbulbs for more efficient replacements, such as compact fluorescents would save billions of kilowatt-hours.

### 9. Insulate

Simply making our homes more efficient can substantially cut the energy needed to heat and cool.

Adding insulation, weather stripping and caulking around your home can cut energy bills by more than 25 percent.

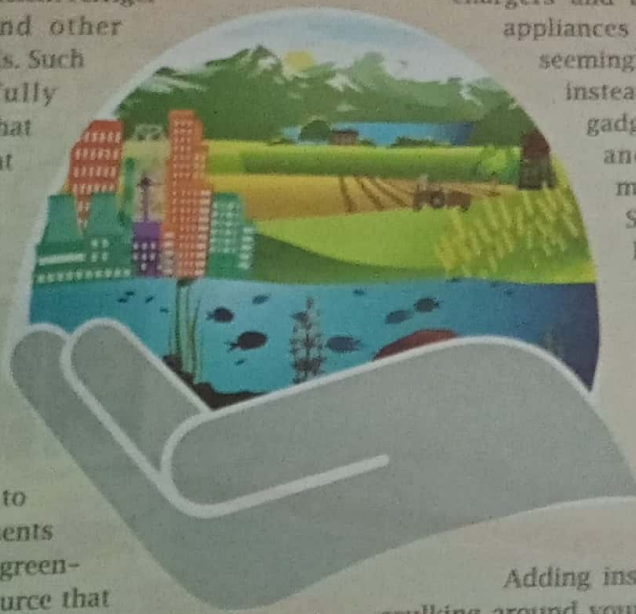
### 10. Don't Drink Bottled Water

Landfills already contain more than 2 million tons of plastic bottles. And 1.5 million barrels of oil are used to manufacture water bottle every year. And those bottles take more than 1,000 years to biodegrade. Yeah, that reusable water bottle does sound like a good idea.

### Conclusion

All may have unintended consequences, making the solution worse than the original problem. But it is clear that at least some form of geo-engineering will likely be required: capturing carbon dioxide before it is released and storing it in some fashion, either deep beneath the earth, at the bottom of the ocean or in carbonate minerals. Such carbon capture and storage is critical to any serious effort to combat climate change. ■

*The writer is a member of staff.*



# tions for CHANGE

atastrophic climate change

hausting, especially when each subsequent  
We may choose to block out the apocalyptic  
given us a tight deadline of around 11 years



In Conversation with  
**Muhammad Zahid Iqbal**  
 27th in Punjab, PMS 2019-20  
 118th in Pakistan, CSS 2019-20 (PAAS)

“I found JWT magazine to be quite helpful during my preparation. It provides valuable insights as regards the events taking place both domestically and internationally.”

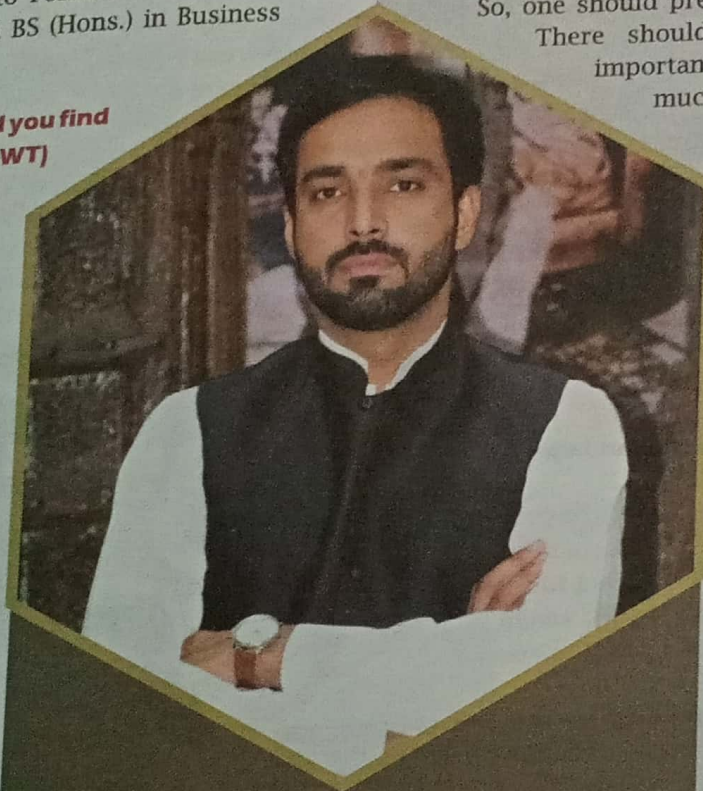
**J**ahangir's World Times (JWT): First of all, please tell us about your educational background?  
**Muhammad Zahid Iqbal (MZI):** I hail from Mian Channu. I completed my studies till intermediate from my hometown. Later on, I got admission to Forman Christian College University, Lahore and did BS (Hons.) in Business Administration.

**JWT: How much helpful did you find Jahangir's World Times (JWT) in your preparation for PMS exam?**

**MZI:** As far as competitive exams are concerned, one needs relevant as well as focused content. You cannot rely on newspapers only. Therefore, I found JWT magazine to be quite helpful during my preparation. It provides valuable insights as regards the events taking place both domestically and internationally. Moreover, I joined WTI for my mock interviews, which was, indeed, a pleasant experience.

**JWT: What, in your opinion, is the key to getting through compulsory papers of PMS exam, especially that of General Knowledge?**

**MZI:** For compulsory subjects, one should make short notes of every subject and revise the same at one's convenience. Further, having sufficient knowledge on a certain subject is not productive unless you know how to make an appropriate



### Advice for Fresh Aspirants

If I have to sum up PMS in three words, it would be like 'write, write and write'. Written practice is the most important thing that an aspirant needs to work on. Secondly, half-hearted effort is no effort at all. It is famously said that 'perseverance commands success.' So, hard work, persistence and passion are the ablest navigators when it comes to passing competitive exams.

Moreover, effective communication skills are essential in this regard. Try to improve your English-language skills. This will help you out in both written exam and interview. One must know how to express oneself in an appropriate manner within the stipulated timeframe. Of course, reading is crucial for good writing. Therefore, read as much as you can.

sketch of that on paper. Therefore, your 'presentation skills' need to be up to the mark. One ought to focus on written practice in order to improve the same. Finally, quoting references plays a pivotal role.

General Knowledge paper in PMS exam is entirely different from other subjects. Negative marking keeps hanging like a sword of Damocles on candidates' heads.

So, one should prepare for GK paper topic-wise.

There should be separate notebook for important and difficult questions; for it is much easier to revise them later on.

Further, help can also be sought from internet to prepare for this crucial paper.

**JWT: How answers should be written to get maximum marks in the written part of PMS exam?**

**MZI:** First of all, do not jump the gun immediately. Read the question paper twice or even thrice. Clearly understand what the examiner expects from you. Typically, a question is divided into different parts and the examiner demands comprehensive answer to every part. Moreover, one should never compromise quality over quantity. Similarly, write self-explanatory headings as it will assist the examiner in getting your point more quickly. Last but not least, quotations are important when it comes to getting a good score.

**JWT: How did you structure your Essay?**

**MZI:** Be clear in your stance. There should be no



ambiguity concerning your plan of action. Similarly, design your outline and introductory paragraph in such a way that the examiner instantly gets your point of view on that specific topic. One does not need to have extraordinary vocabulary to crack the essay paper. To sum up, a good essay must have: comprehensiveness, clarity, coherence and completeness.

**JWT: What was your strategy for the General Knowledge paper?**

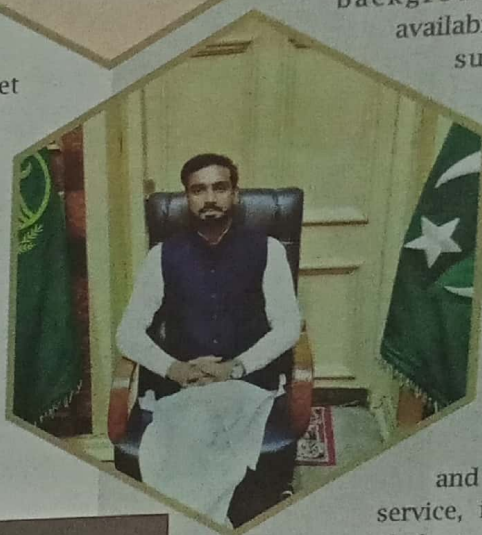
**MZI:** Undoubtedly, past papers provide a direction. I consulted as many past papers as I could. Since GK paper in PMS is considered a hard nut to crack, one needs to rely on more than one source. Therefore, past papers as well as internet provide a good combination to prepare for the GK paper. The key to pass this paper is to not attempt all the 100 questions, especially if you know only 30-40 answers.

**JWT: Should there be some word limit kept in mind while writing answers?**

**MZI:** Time management is a crucial factor. All ideas and arguments must be finished in allotted time. In my papers, I never tried to fill sheets with irrelevant information as it would have been counterproductive. So, never

### My Interview Experience

Interview is a test of not only your knowledge but also of your nerves. My interview was a combination of both. It started with some random questions from history to political science to economy. I answered almost all the questions to the satisfaction of the panel. One of the panellists asked a few questions on the history of Pakistan and India. Since it was not my core strength, I dropped some of them but remained confident and composed. Then, he moved on and started asking questions from political science, which I answered satisfactorily. The interesting part of the interview was when they asked questions from Punjabi. I recited Punjabi poetry and they all seemed satisfied with that. One might say that it was a turning point of my interview. Further, they also tried to test my knowledge in business administration. Finally, Mr Chairman asked some questions related to the situation in the Middle East, and the IMF. I fully tried to convey my views with confidence. Whenever I missed any question, I excused respectfully. Overall, it was a good experience.



compromise on quality.

**JWT: Is it better to attempt optional papers in Urdu or one should go with English only?**

**MZI:** One should always try to attempt papers in English because there is scarcity of relevant content in Urdu. A commonly-held opinion is that attempting papers in English also affects the score. That is why most candidates go for English.

**JWT: How one should choose Optional Subjects?**

**MZI:** The factors that must be kept in mind while choosing your optional subjects are: your background, personal interest, availability of good content on that subject and, finally, the scoring trend.

**JWT: Who deserves the credit for your success?**

**MZI:** Credit for my success goes to my family, especially my brother who kept me motivated at every step. Since I am the first person from my family to make it to a university, and the one to make it to civil service, it was a tough journey; nonetheless, my family has been supportive throughout this endeavour.

**JWT: As interviewers usually grill the interview candidates, how did you manage the situation?**

**MZI:** Indeed, interview is a critical stage of PMS exam. I prepared all my optional subjects thoroughly. Mostly, questions are asked from one's academic background. So, I prepared Political Science from every aspect. I remained composed and confident throughout my interview. As nobody is supposed to know each and everything that exists on the planet earth, I also excused a few questions, which were of objective nature. ■

### Rapid Fire

Your inspiration	Mian Mumtaz Hussain
Attempts	01
Schooling medium	Both Urdu and English
Your qualification	BS (Hons.) in Business Administration
Alma mater	FC College University, Lahore
Your study schedule	5-6 hours a day
Your sources	Recommended books, The Economist, Dawn, Foreign Affairs, JWT Magazine
Your hobbies	Writing, reading, singing
Your strength	Perseverance
Fave personality	Nikola Tesla (A Serbian Inventor)
Fave book	Thinking, Fast and Slow by Daniel Kahneman
Fave quote	"Unexamined life is not worth living." — Socrates
Secret of your success	Hard work, passion and commitment
Your role model	Muhammad Ali Jinnah



# ESSAY OUTLINES

Muhammad Sulaiman

## Changing Global Power Dynamics

- (a) Introduction
- (b) US hegemony as a global superpower, and use of economic and military power to advance its national interests
- (c) Rise of China as an economic and military power
- (d) US government's economic war on China
- (e) Challenge of Russia and EU to US policies
- (f) Decline in the role of UN
- (g) Changing power dynamics in South Asia and East Asia
  - (i) US support for India to act as a balancer against Chinese influence in the South Asian region
  - (ii) US support for India to safeguard its strategic interests in South Asia
  - (iii) US-China tussle to gain influence in South China Sea
- (h) Indo-Pak power tussle
  - (i) Indian design to impose its hegemony in South Asia by keeping check on all nations
  - (ii) India's support of Afghan government and allegations of terrorism against Pakistan
  - (iii) Balance of power struggle between India and Pakistan
  - (iv) Pakistan's efforts to raise awareness about Indian atrocities against Kashmiris
  - (v) Pakistan's efforts to convene UNSC meeting when special constitutional status of Kashmir was revoked
  - (vi) Pakistan's efforts to raise concern against the human rights violations against the people of Kashmir
  - (vii) Resolution of Kashmir dispute in the light of UN resolutions
- (i) Afghan peace process and US withdrawal from the region
  - (i) Commissioning of peace deal between Taliban and Afghan government
  - (ii) Peace deal and ceasefire agreement between warring factions
  - (iii) US withdrawal from the region and peace agreement
  - (iv) Pakistan's role to execute peace agreement, and not allow any terrorist activities on or from its soil
  - (v) Pakistan's resolve to eradicate terrorism on its soil
- (j) CPEC (China-Pakistan Economic Corridor) project and China's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI)
  - (i) China's BRI to integrate Asia with Europe through land routes
  - (ii) Participation of several countries in BRI
  - (iii) US reservations against CPEC and BRI
  - (iv) India's rejection of Chinese offer to participate in BRI
  - (v) Rise of China and relations with Pakistan
  - (vi) CPEC as a part of China's BRI
    - 1. Development of transport and communication

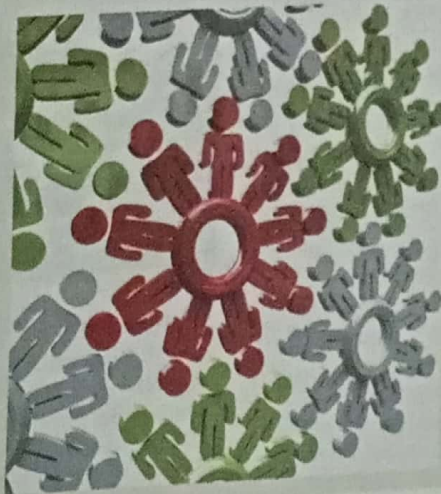


- infrastructure
- 2. Energy development projects for more production
- 3. Setting up of special economic zones in different regions of the country
- 4. Setting up of training centres and universities for socio-economic uplift
- 5. New railroad projects across provinces
- 6. Development of Gwadar as a functional deep sea port
- (k) Changing dynamics in the Middle East
  - (i) Dragging Syrian conflict involving multiple stakeholders like US, Russia, Turkey, Israel, Iran and Saudi Arabia
  - (ii) Humanitarian crisis as a result of a decade-old war in Syria
  - (iii) Yemen war and power conflict between Saudi Arabia and Iran
  - (iv) War of words and struggle for influence in the Persian Gulf region
  - (v) Iranian support of Houthi rebels in Yemen
  - (vi) Poverty, malnutrition and mass killings
- (l) Changing world dynamics and foreign policy options for Pakistan
  - (i) Improving relations with US
  - (ii) Strengthening ties with China
  - (iii) Building strategic ties with Russia
  - (iv) Engaging Central Asia with special focus on CASA-1000 and TAPI projects in the wake of CPEC development
  - (v) Rise of AU and development of bilateral ties with African countries
  - (vi) Pakistan's trade relations with ASEAN states and economic collaboration
- (m) Multipolarity in changing power dynamics of the world
  - (i) Russia's resurgence and its economic gains
  - (ii) China's economic might and trade war with USA
  - (iii) US isolationism and diminishing role in international affairs
  - (iv) Assertion of EU as a bloc and its role in negotiating deals on its own
- (n) Way forward for a vibrant foreign policy of Pakistan amidst changing dynamics
  - (i) Safeguard of national and strategic interests
  - (ii) Political stability to ensure continuity of domestic and foreign policies
  - (iii) Economic development to empower people
  - (iv) Making new alliances and rational decision-making
  - (v) Eradication of terrorism in all forms
  - (vi) Participation in peace processes from the platform of UN
- (o) Conclusion



## Socio-economic Issues of Pakistan

- (a) Introduction
- (b) Current scenario
- (c) Social problems
  - (i) Unconscionable poverty
  - (ii) Uncontrolled overpopulation
  - (iii) Rampant illiteracy and education
  - (iv) Pernicious child labour
  - (v) Soaring unemployment
  - (vi) Corruption-riddled society
  - (vii) Abysmal health sector, and lack of basic amenities
  - (viii) Women empowerment
  - (ix) Injustice and weak judicial system
  - (x) Absence of rule of law
  - (xi) Lack of housing facilities
- (d) Economic problems
  - (i) Low tax-to-GDP ratio
  - (ii) Crumbling tax bureaucracy
  - (iii) Low FDI and huge debt trap
  - (iv) Energy crisis
  - (v) Low exports and high imports
  - (vi) Lack of diversity in manufacturing sector
  - (vii) Inflation
  - (viii) Lack of tourism
- (e) Suggestions



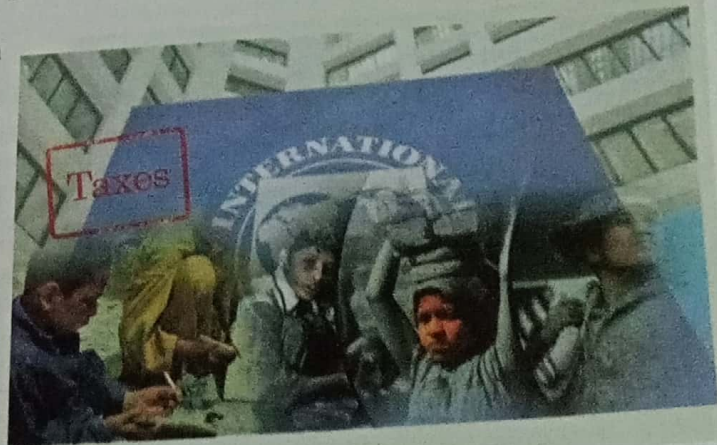
- (i) Eradication and alleviation of poverty
- (ii) Ensuring equal distribution of wealth
- (iii) Population growth be controlled
- (iv) Reform of education system
- (v) Legislation to prevent child labour
- (vi) Improving employment prospects
- (vii) Reform of education system
- (viii) Curbing the menace of corruption
- (ix) Provision of quality healthcare to all citizens
- (x) Provision of basic amenities to all citizens
- (xi) Empowerment of women in society
- (xii) Strengthening of judicial system
- (xiii) Provision of low cost-housing
- (xiv) Strengthening the tax bureaucracy
- (xv) Ease of doing business to attract FDI
- (xvi) Multiple energy sources
- (xvii) Diversification of exports
- (xviii) Increase in tourism prospects
- (f) Conclusion

## 18th Amendment and Its Repercussions for Federal and Provincial Harmony

- (a) Introduction
- (b) Key changes in the constitution through the 18th Amendment
  - (i) Revival of CCI to resolve power-sharing disputes between the federation and the provinces
  - (ii) Revival of National Economic Council as per article 156 of the Constitution to coordinate on issues of economic interest between provinces and centre
- (c) Positive impact of the 18th Amendment
  - (i) Provincial autonomy realized as autonomy given to provinces
  - (ii) Greater focus on welfare of citizens shifted from federation to provinces
  - (iii) Efforts to improve coordination among provinces and the federation
  - (iv) Financial independence and tax revenue generation by the provinces
- (d) Pitfalls of 18th Amendment
  - (i) Hasty transfer of functions to provinces which can create delay in implementation of policies
  - (ii) Issue of human resource in ministries devolved to provinces still unresolved and unutilized
  - (iii) Issue of policy coordination among the provinces and the centre lingering as CCI and NEC not adequately used.

- (iv) Nation-building neglected as growth pace of provinces differs and there are chances of growth in provincialism
- (v) Policy confusion as international organizations, donors and NGOs have to coordinate with provinces and centre
- (vi) Disjointed tax policy and lack of coordination between provinces and centre

(e) Conclusion

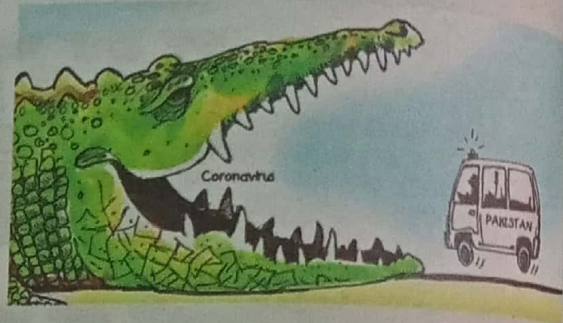




## Pakistan's Challenges at Domestic and External Front during the Covid-19 Health Crisis

- (a) Introduction
- (b) Spread and threat of coronavirus
  - (i) Pakistan's initial response and efforts against Covid-19 inadequate as lockdown was deferred
  - (ii) Half-hearted attempts to spread corona awareness through use of social distancing and restrictions on social gatherings, closure of restaurants and curbing socialization activities
  - (iii) Poor healthcare system unable to cope with corona emergency as doctors at hospitals lacked protective gears; there were around 2000 ventilators in the country
  - (iv) Healthcare moving toward emergency mode as corona patients couldn't get health facilities
- (c) Role of NCOC in struggle against Covid-19 to bring centre and province on one page to battle the menace of coronavirus
- (d) Multi-pronged strategy to implement social distancing, restrictions on social gatherings and partial closure of educational institutions
- (e) Covid-19 effects
  - (i) Issues of healthcare
  - (ii) Changes in healthcare
  - (iii) Plight of economy
  - (iv) Decline in trade and commerce
  - (v) Delay in execution of projects
  - (vi) External challenges posed by Covid-19
  - (vii) Threat to education system
  - (viii) Issues of urbanization and spread of coronavirus

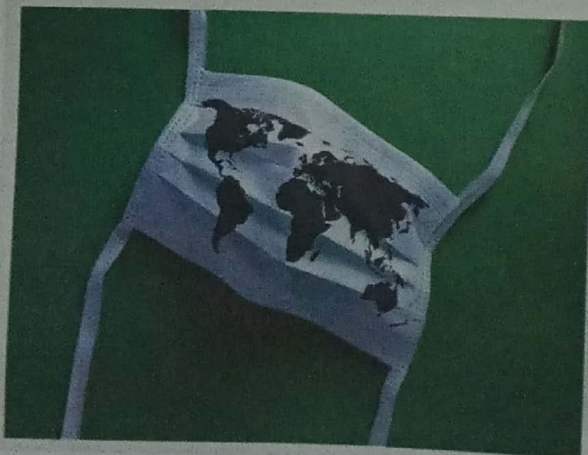
- (ix) Labour and employment issues
- (x) Slow progress on resolution of issues
- (f) Government efforts to fight Covid-19
  - (i) IT initiatives by the government to inform people about availability of beds and ventilators in hospitals, tracking of corona-contacts
  - (ii) Social and economic protection initiatives to boost economic activity, generate employment and provide social safety nets through finance schemes



- (g) Appraisal of lockdown: Whether it worked to mitigate the Covid-19 disaster
- (h) Government's performance and preparedness in the wake of the previous Covid-19 wave and the winter wave
- (i) Conclusion

## Can the Covid-19 Crisis Trigger Demise of Globalization or Hurtle a Significant Change in World Order?

- (a) Introduction
- (b) Globalization prior to Covid-19 pandemic
  - (i) Integrated world economy
  - (ii) Streamlined banking, travel and tourism industries
  - (iii) Interdependency in trade, travel and exchange of services
  - (iv) World growth dependent on cooperation
- (c) Economic impacts of Covid-19 on globalization



- (i) Economic growth report shows services industry worst hit, decline in manufacturing
- (ii) Globalization and integration of economic institutions affected to some extent but automation kept retail sector afloat
- (iii) Performance and plight of travel industry got worse as restrictions imposed on national and international travel
- (iv) Social impact of Covid-19 on globalization in the form of mental health, stress, loss of jobs and decline in civic services
- (d) Globalization and social indicators painted a grim picture but showed signs of improvements as lockdowns eased and economic activity picked up pace
- (e) Role of humanitarian organizations to raise awareness regarding prevention of Covid-19 pandemic
- (f) Role of education to serve as a means of cultural exchange between students from different countries
- (g) Globalization and world politics has seen change as corona rattled world economies and created new problems with more opportunities
- (h) Change in global order
- (i) Conclusion



## Democracy is A Culture Rather than A Process (CSS-2012)



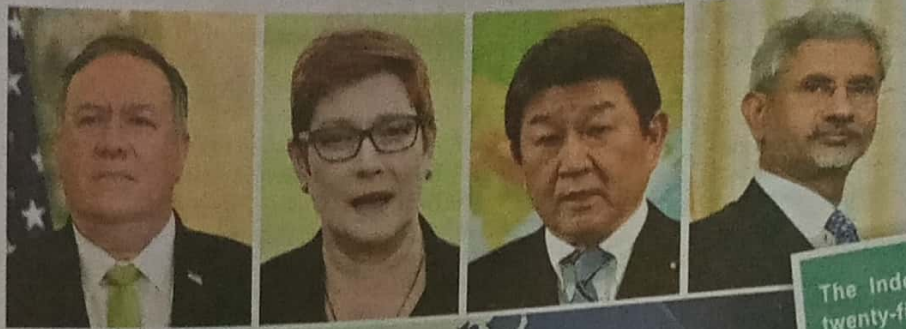
- (a) Introduction
- (b) Democracy is a culture because:
- (i) Democracy is based on ideals, norms and values
  - (ii) Democracy is based on a relationship of trust
  - (iii) Democracy is based on social, political and economic institutions
  - (iv) It establishes political institutions, entrenches respect for law
  - (v) It runs affairs of state through institutions
  - (vi) It gives power to raise revenues for the state
  - (vii) It gives power to state to tax revenue earned by businesses
  - (viii) It gives permission to spend on public projects and public welfare
  - (ix) It gives authority to spend on health, education, security of people
  - (x) It gives authority to law-enforcement agencies to enforce law and order
  - (xi) It is based on literacy, awareness and participation
  - (xii) It is based on transfer of power to representatives of people and holding them accountable
  - (xiii) It caters to objective reporting of news and dissemination of information
- (c) In what manner democracy is not a process
- (i) It is not a mechanical process
  - (ii) It cannot be enforced through elections
  - (iii) It won't function without institutions
  - (iv) It won't function without rule of law
  - (v) It won't function without representation
  - (vi) It won't function if state doesn't raise finances
  - (vii) It won't function if accountability is not present
  - (viii) It won't function without implementation
  - (ix) Democracy is a belief in a culture
- (d) How to achieve a democratic culture?
- (i) By establishing supremacy of the constitution
  - (ii) By safeguarding an independent judiciary
  - (iii) Through free and fair election
  - (iv) Through a culture of tolerance and accommodation
  - (v) By promoting education and literacy
  - (vi) By following ideals of fairness and social justice
  - (vii) By following ideals of equality and non-discrimination
  - (viii) By ensuring a free and objective media to do reporting
  - (ix) By promoting religious tolerance among masses
  - (x) By initiating a culture of self- and institutional accountability
  - (xi) By avoiding tussle between civil and military relations
  - (xii) By ridding of feudalism
  - (xiii) By revamping tax revenue generation
  - (xiv) By empowering state law and order machinery
- (e) Conclusion

## Pakistan and the Future of Kashmir Cause



- (a) Introduction
- (i) Territorial dispute
  - (ii) Aggression by India
  - (iii) War of Kashmir's independence
  - (iv) UN resolutions
- (b) Wars and conflicts between the two neighbouring countries
- (c) Peace accords and their failure
- (d) Musharraf-Vajpayee talks
- (e) Fate of composite and comprehensive dialogues
- (f) Track-II diplomacy to resolve the issue
- (g) Issues in resolution
- (i) Indian obduracy and urge to impose regional hegemony
  - (ii) Strong Indian economy and investment of countries
  - (iii) Fear of rightwing and media backlash
  - (iv) Politicization of a genuine issue
  - (v) Distrust and lack of coordination
  - (vi) Lack of people-to-people contacts
- (h) Effects of the dispute
- (i) Regional peace, trade, development and cooperation in danger
  - (ii) Serious setback to the economies of these countries
  - (iii) Focus on militarization instead on poverty
- (i) New dimensions to the issue
- (i) Denial of rights, atrocities, constitutional protections, security and special status, human rights violations
  - (ii) Puppet governments to extend rule in the blockaded valley
  - (iii) Killing of Burhan Wani
  - (iv) Lockdown of the Kashmir Valley, communication blockade and restrictions on media access and reporting
  - (v) Indigenous struggle branded as Pakistan-funded terrorism campaign
  - (vi) Revoking of Article 370 and special constitutional status
  - (vii) Sham reforms introduced to change the demographic composition of the Kashmir region by incentivizing private investment and purchase of land
- (j) Options before Pakistan
- (i) Revival of Saarc to increase trade and counter Indian aspiration of hegemony in South Asia
  - (ii) UN resolutions and efforts to raise awareness regarding Indian atrocities
  - (iii) Robust diplomacy in UN General Assembly to highlight the role of Indian atrocities in the IIOJK
  - (iv) Projection of Kashmiri struggle through carefully-weighted diplomacy
  - (v) Economic diplomacy to be exercised by friends of Pakistan to coerce Indian government into cooperation
  - (vi) Prospects of war and nuclear threat to be ruled out so that Pakistan could demonstrate its commitment to international law and show its responsibility
  - (vii) EU to be apprised about the atrocities committed by Indian government against the Kashmiri people
- (k) Conclusion





# Understanding The Indo-Pacific

Magazine Desk

The Indo-Pacific has become a locus of twenty-first century attention. It connects large swathes of the globe, which has made it a major geopolitical factor. The almost concurrent rise of China and India and the rapidly changing dynamics of the region now make this construct even more important. India's increased regional engagements and its strategic partnership with the United States is aimed at strengthening Indian footprints in the Indo-Pacific region which will increase security concerns for China. On the other hand, China's escalated military presence and its aggressive policies, and the push-back by Quad countries—Australia, India, Japan, and the United States, is expected to further intensify the tensions.

**T**he Indo-Pacific region is increasingly becoming a battleground for the United States and China in pursuit of their competing interests of gaining strategic influence on a larger part of Asia. This quest for dominance is likely to transform the geopolitical scenario not only in the Indo-Pacific region but also in South and Southeast Asia as this region signifies the importance of joining the US, India, Japan and Australia in Quadrilateral Security Dialogue (also known as Quad) that has been formed to curb China's growing influence in this region. This changed scenario will have profound implications for South Asia as well.

However, the term 'Indo-Pacific' is much more than just the Quad. There are multiple centres of power that encompass the region today. Its metamorphosis from the conceptualization of a geographic convergence of two oceanic landscapes into its current form as a strategic deterrent to expansionist endeavours of one single great power is an engrossing story to tell.

## Origin, break-up, and re-birth of the idea

Even though this concept today finds

an irreplaceable place in the daily foreign policy lexicon of all key democracies in Asia, Oceania, and most recently, with Europe's two great powers – France and Germany – the idea has its actual origins in the writings of Karl Haushofer, a German geopolitician, in the first half of 20th century itself. But, with an initial stall, the idea wouldn't resurface in the public domain until former Japanese Prime Minister, Shinzo Abe, rejuvenated it in his 2007 address to the Indian Parliament, titled, 'Confluence of the Two Seas'. But, the idea was brewing up in the strategic circles of New Delhi to imbibe its new avatar in the mid-2000s itself.

Haushofer looked at the inter-related cultural dimension of the region from a German perspective alone. But today, it has evolved into a broader strategic construct that could potentially act as a 'balance of power' mechanism, while it can also be imagined as a geographic region. And, with multiple centres of power in existence, differing in conceptualization of the term, unlike the politically neutral term 'Asia-Pacific', the region in the 21st century, could potentially rise to the significance of what the

North Atlantic was in the previous century.

## From Asia-Pacific's to Indo-Pacific

What necessitated a transition from the Asia-Pacific to the Indo-Pacific? To understand that, the term 'Asia-Pacific' needs an introspection first. Asia-Pacific emerged in the mid-1980s as a means to ensure co-operation in trade and commerce. But, it never included an unavoidable Asian power, both geopolitically and demographically in a stronger position, India.

Not only the Republic of India, but the Subcontinent and Ocean named after India also never found its place in this initial conceptualization of the geographic continuum that was restricted to the east of the Strait of Malacca, comprising Southeast Asia, East Asia and the Pacific only.

Asia-Pacific was focused more on trade and commercial cooperation. But, Indo-Pacific does have a political dimension, as it considers including



'democracies' primarily, along with other considerations like the geographic setting of the country.

Moreover, regional organizations like the Singapore-based Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) and the Jakarta-based Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) have significant potential to influence multilateral trade and international relations of the Asia-Pacific region. Well, what about West Asia then? The need to include that region never arose at point of time, as it went with the socio-culturally different Middle East, which glued well with North Africa owing to their similarity of Arab-dominant culture.

### Rising China as a contributing factor

The significance of the Indian Subcontinent and the Indian Ocean surged in the evolving geopolitical and geoeconomic scenario marked by a US-China face-off that specifically deteriorated after 2012, when the over-ambitious Xi Jinping rose to power in Beijing, adding to America's trepidations of a new superpower competitor from Asia. In the past seven to eight years since Xi Jinping has been elevated as China's Supreme Leader, the country gave revisionist expressions through its new policies and

projects around the world, particularly like the 2013-initiated Belt and Road Initiative - the most ambitious infrastructure development project in modern history - spanning three geographically connected continents - Asia, Africa, and Europe - with China as its centre.

Beijing's increased presence in areas where it historically never involved in, such as the Indian Ocean, in the past five years, where a strategy known as the 'String of Pearls' in which Beijing attempts to build or take control of strategically-located ports and bases in a way encircling India, has been perceived as expansionist.

China's renewed aggressiveness with regard to Hong Kong, where Beijing recently established a security office and Taiwan where threat of an overnight invasion looms, or its building of artificial islands from previously what was coral reefs in the South China Sea for military purposes is all the more conspicuous.

Beijing's vaguely perceived historical claims to the Sea as expressed in the 'Nine-Dash Line' theory all have exacerbated Western and Indian fears of an expansion, which, in turn, necessitated the ideation of an alternative mechanism for balance of power, as articulated by Indo-Pacific. If the circumstances were such that Beijing's rise was zero-disruptive to the existing world order, then perhaps, Asia-Pacific remained the same. But, that's not the case now.

Thus, from an Asia-Pacific that was restricted to those countries in Asia and Oceania that shared maritime borders with the Pacific Ocean, a strategic thought-shift to include the 'Indo-sphere', consisting of the Subcontinent and

waters beyond the Strait of Malacca till the eastern shores of Africa took effect, as conceptualized by the 'Indo-Pacific'. But, there was another problem - differing perceptions on the ideation of Indo-Pacific.

### Power centres and differing outlooks

Well, it is widely perceived that the 'Quad' grouping of India, United States, Japan, and Australia is the major power centre of the region, may be militarily. But actually it doesn't give a complete picture.

There are other power centres, namely the ASEAN (Association of South East Asian Nations), and the European Union, represented individually by France and Germany. Each of these nations and ASEAN as a whole has their respective separate outlooks on how to perceive the term Indo-Pacific, whether as a containment strategy aimed at Beijing, or as an all-inclusive one.

New Delhi views it as a region for mutual cooperation, rules-based order, without excluding any players, and it does not wish to view Indo-Pacific as a limited club of nations as articulated by PM Modi, two years back, in Singapore. However, it could be in line with New Delhi's 'Act East' and SAGAR (Security and Growth

for All in the Region) policies.

Tokyo's strategy is also multilayered, from minilateral cooperation to an emphasis on more multilateral initiatives as articulated by the 'Free and Open Indo-Pacific' outlook while maintaining a conditional engagement with Beijing. It envisions a hybrid future regional order in the Indo-Pacific.

ASEAN wishes to shield itself from a potential great-power competition with an emphasis on mutual economic

cooperation and rules-based order in the region. But, the United States, particularly under Donald Trump, has been openly critical of Beijing's moves in the region and never wishes to include China in its conceptualization of the Indo-Pacific, as it lacks the democratic values the US stands for.

Washington, therefore, wants a containment of China's expansionism to deal with the threat posed to American dominance in the region. Washington even renamed its Hawaii-based Pacific Command as the 'Indo-Pacific Command' in 2018 to reflect the importance of the term in a symbolic gesture. It wants to ensure that Beijing occupies only its rightful place in the world.

US Secretary of State Mike Pompeo embarked on an Asia tour in the last week of October, this year, including India, Sri Lanka, Maldives, Indonesia and Vietnam to strengthen Washington's ties with friends and allies in the region and to bring more countries on its side.

Australia has its shores both in the Indian and Pacific Oceans. Canberra views that its economic and security engagement in the Indo-Pacific will be anchored by long-term interests





of Washington, with which it has a security alliance.  
**What France and Germany has to do with the Indo-Pacific?**

On May 3, 2018, French President Emmanuel Macron made the term "Indo-Pacific" a concept of French foreign policy for the first time. Later, in many of his speeches, President Macron projected France as a great power in the Indo-Pacific. This is vindicated by the fact that Paris has its presence in the Indian and Pacific Oceans with five overseas departments or territories — New Caledonia and French Polynesia in the Pacific, and Reunion Island and Mayotte in the western Indian Ocean near to the shores of Africa. Considering the aforementioned fact, with the region's increasing geopolitical significance highlighted, France has recently appointed its first envoy for the Indo-Pacific an additional charge given to its Ambassador in Canberra. Paris also wishes to focus its attention on regional peace and stability through confidence-building measures, maritime cooperation and sustainable development, among other things.

Germany is the most recent, and the second, European power to devise a strategy, or rather a policy, for the Indo-Pacific. For the EU's economic heavyweight, this came as a means to secure its commercial and economic interest in the region. At a time when the Berlin holds the EU Presidency, the German outlook for the region aims to promote a European Union strategy for the Indo-Pacific' of which it will be a segment, without exercising any real power, but with a support for multipolarity of the region.

German Defence Minister, Annegret Kramp-Karrenbauer, has recently stated that a German warship will patrol the Indian Ocean from next year, as part of Berlin's plan to deal with Beijing's recent moves in the region that have triggered a 'rethink across Europe'. This is significant considering New Delhi giving its approval for such a move in its own backyard. Same with the United States being permitted to open its first-ever embassy in the Maldivian capital, Male, during Secretary of State Mike Pompeo's recent visit to the archipelago. This can be seen as the beginning of a new geopolitical script being written in the Indian Ocean.

#### **Potentiality of a new North Atlantic**

With more and more countries rising up to Chinese expansionist and revisionist tendencies, particularly in the South China Sea, it naturally drives them closer to the United States and the Indo-Pacific in the context of an unfolding cold war between Washington and Beijing. However, both sides have their own strategic, diplomatic, and economic leverages at use.

In the near future, the mechanism could possibly turn into an alliance if New Delhi dares to shed its highly-held policy of 'strategic autonomy' and apathy towards the alliance system.

The new logistics agreements which New Delhi signed in

the past four years to expand the operational reach of the Indian navy and the foundational agreements that it signed with Washington could see an upscale in terms of military-level and diplomatic-level engagements.

The other three Quad partners are already in formal security alliances with Washington, which makes India as the only country in the grouping that could determine the success or failure of the grouping in the near future.

The US has more overseas military bases than any other country on the planet. But, Beijing with challengeable economic and technological power, moving ahead with BRI projects and an expanding People's Liberation Army (PLA), which recently became the world's largest navy as estimated by the US Department of Defense in a report submitted to the US Congress this year.

The faultline of Taiwan is poised to escalate into a wider conflict in the near future as Beijing turns impatient on reuniting the island with the mainland. Same with worldwide distrust of Chinese 5G technological companies such as Huawei and ZTE, that allegedly have links to Chinese Communist Party's ruling establishment.



More national governments could follow Canberra and London soon in banning these companies for 5G trials and rollout, including perhaps New Delhi which has banned Chinese apps recently owing to the clashes it has with Beijing in their Himalayan borders.

Meanwhile, countries like Sri Lanka, where Beijing successfully operationalized its irrevocable 'debt-trap diplomacy', will be left with no other option but to throw their weights behind Beijing, and the same goes with many African countries where China is making huge investments despite having losses, supposedly for strategic gains.

With all pieces in place, the world may witness the Indo-Pacific emerging in this century as what the North Atlantic was in the past century. However, the region still lacks an institutionalized framework or organizational set-up like Nato or OSCE to formalize and legalize its purpose, which might see a change soon enough as more and more countries come out recognizing the looming threat posed by Beijing. ■



# Incorporating 21<sup>st</sup>-century Skills in Education

The Next Big Thing for Pakistan

At a time when the Covid-19 pandemic has rattled every country with its long-lasting, deleterious impact, it is obvious that our rapidly-changing world is faced with increasingly complex global challenges. Climate change, migrant crisis and epidemics and pandemics are some daunting challenges that require creative collaboration across borders. Covid-19 has highlighted the concept of interdependence of countries and brought to light how state institutions are largely dependent on skilled labour for smooth running. This also manifests that today's citizen needs a wide range of competencies to navigate the changing world. These competencies include, but are, certainly, not limited to, critical thinking, communication, collaboration, resilience and metacognition.



Education systems around the world are increasingly recognizing the need to teach their students a new set of competencies beyond traditional disciplines such as mathematics, science and reading. In order to be successful in learning, life, and work, students must master 21st-century skills like creativity and critical thinking, social-emotional learning characteristics like curiosity and resilience, and meta-learning abilities, often described as "learning to learn."

Shafqat Javed

Gone are the days when rote-learning individuals would occupy top positions in the government and private sectors. The future jobs now demand a league of labour that has skills and innovation in them. This brings a heavy responsibility on the shoulders of the teachers as they will be more responsible, now, for a student's overall development; placing the foundation for lifelong progress. It is up to them to use the difficult conditions caused by the Covid-19 pandemic to take the next step forward and develop their capacity in imparting 21st-century skills to their students. According to experts, 21st-century skills are 12 capabilities that today's students need to succeed in their careers during the contemporary information age: critical thinking, creativity, collaboration, communication, information literacy, media literacy, technology literacy, flexibility, leadership, initiative, productivity and social skills. These skills are proposed to help students keep up with the speedy pace of today's modern markets. Each skill is unique in helping students but all these competencies have one quality in common, their indispensable role in the age of information technology.

There are three categories that 21st-century skills fall into: learning skills, literacy skills and life skills.

Learning skills come under the first category and are also known as four C's i.e. critical thinking, creativity, a collaboration and communication which teach students about the mental processes required to adapt and improve upon a modern work environment. 4Cs are taken as the heart and soul of teaching 21st-century skills as these are more recognisable in those students who are in post-secondary education and career settings.

Critical thinking is the mechanism that weeds out problems and replaces them with fruitful solutions and trains students to think critically without the support of teachers and mentors. It is a known fact that critical thinking is the most in-demand and significant skill for any health sciences scholar and in upcoming business settings. It is an essential skill to indulge into employees for enhancement of practical knowledge.

Creativity is another equally important quality as a means of learning adaptation. This skill empowers students to see concepts in different ways, which leads to innovation and improved concepts. In any field of life, innovation is key to the adaptability and overall success of any human resource unit. Learning creativity as a skill requires someone to



understand that "the way things have always been done" may have been best 10 years ago but someday, that has to change.

Collaboration means getting students to work together to achieve compromises and acquire the best possible results from solving a problem. Collaboration may be the most difficult concept in the four C's. But once it's mastered by any learner and future professional, (s)he can settle down or will be able to sort the fundamental issues of any team unit in crisis.

The key element of collaboration/teamwork is willingness. Successful teamwork happens when all members of a team are trained about methods of cooperating and work together to achieve a bigger goal by sacrificing personal likes and opinions for one solution in benefit of the entire human unit.

Finally, communication is the glue that brings all of these enlightening qualities together. Students must learn how to effectively convey ideas among different personality types and situations. Effective communication has the potential to eliminate confusion in any working environment, which educates students to convert into valuable parts of their teams, departments and professional endeavours.

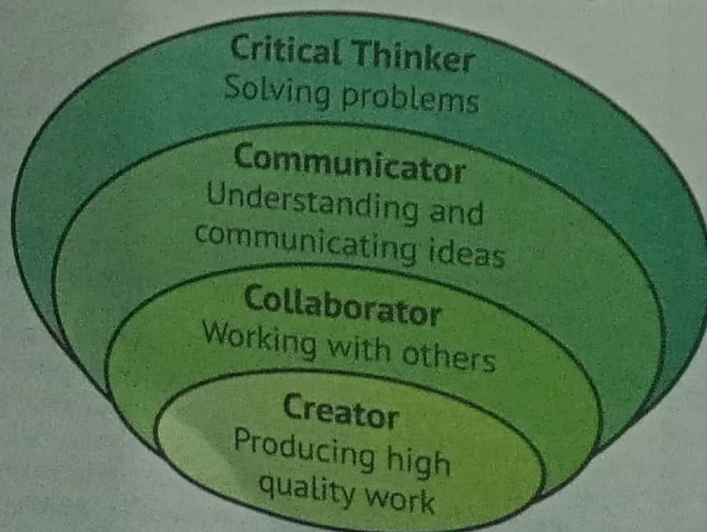
Literacy skills, also known as (IMT) literacy, make the second category of 21st-century skills.

**Information literacy:** Understanding facts, figures, statistics, and data. Information literacy is the foundational skill that helps students understand facts; especially, data points that they'll encounter online. More importantly, it teaches them how to separate fact from fiction. In an age of chronic misinformation, finding truth online has become a responsibility on its own. Students must identify honesty on their own. Otherwise, they can fall prey to myths, misconceptions, and outright lies.

**Media literacy:** Understanding the methods and outlets in which information is published.

Media literacy is the practice of identifying publishing methods, outlets, and sources while distinguishing between the ones that are credible and the ones that aren't. Just like the previous skill, media literacy helps find truth in a world that's saturated with information. This is how students find trustworthy sources of information in their

## The Four Cs of 21st Century Skills



## Four C's of the 21st Century

### 1. Critical Thinking

Critical thinking is the capability of an individual to analyze, interpret and evaluate information. More broadly, it is an intellectual process of conceptualizing, evaluating, analyzing and synthesizing the gathered information from observation, reasoning, experience and reflection. It is a skill to be learned but it cannot be inculcated in the learners by their peers or parents. Well-trained and knowledgeable teachers are indispensable for the transmission of critical thinking skill to students. The skill of critical thinking is important and crucial because it can be used in the workplace; it also helps the individual to deal with spiritual and mental questions. Furthermore, it can be used to evaluate people, institutions, and policies to avoid social problems.

### 2. Creativity

In today's environment, where students interact with the existing media and technologies in everyday experiences, creativity and innovation skills have gained an important role in contemporary society for creation of new knowledge. Creativity is the ability of individuals to create novel and valuable ideas or thoughts, and to analyze, polish and assess their own or existing ideas to increase creative efforts. The skill of creativity enables an individual to think at his own, identify and solve crucial problems. The Jobs of the 21st century will need such workers who have the ability of flexibility, adaptability, innovation and creativity.

### 3. Collaboration

Collaboration refers to the aptitude of a learner to work efficiently in diverse teams, making essential compromises to achieve a common goal, implement shared obligation for collaborative task, and acknowledge the individual assistance made by each and every member of the team. This skill can be learned through working in groups of individuals in well-planned programmes and tasks. There is no degree (qualification) in any particular area of the study that guarantee for job employment, however, it is the collaborative work or team work that enables the individual to discover and solve problems.

### 4. Communication

Dealing with the multicultural population in today's diverse and globalized world, communication is playing a very crucial role in making people work together across the world. It enables the individuals to articulate and convey ideas by using oral, written, as well as non-verbal languages. Effective communication of important ideas between the colleagues and co-workers can be integrated into core courses of the institutions. Multiculturalism and diversity of the world demand for the usefulness and effectiveness of the communicative and collaboration skills.



lives and students, who are equipped with it, can identify and differentiate which media outlets or formats to ignore. They also learn which ones to consult and follow, which is an equally important competency.

**Technology literacy:** Understanding the machines that make the Information Age possible. Technology literacy goes another step further to teach students about the machines involved in the information age. As computers, cloud programming and mobile devices become more important to the world and require more people to understand these concepts in demand.

Technology literacy gives students the basic information they need to understand what gadgets perform what tasks and why.

Moreover, technology literacy unmasks the high-powered tools that run and facilitate today's world. Today's 'Generation Alpha' is capable to adopt this universal phenomenon more effectively and can support its evolution—might even guide its future.

The third significant category of 21st-century skills called "Life Skills" or FLIPS skills i.e. Flexibility, Leadership, Initiative, Productivity and Social Skills.

**Flexibility:** It is the expression of someone's ability to adapt to changing circumstances. This is one of the most challenging qualities to learn for students because it's based on two genuine ideas:

1. Your way isn't always the best.
  2. You have to know and admit when you're wrong.
- Developing flexibility is a struggle for a lot of students, it requires them to show humbleness and accept that they'll always have a lot to learn - even when they're experienced. Still, flexibility is crucial to a student's long-term success in a career. Knowing when to change, how to change, and how to react to change is a skill that will pay dividends for someone's entire life.

It also plays a big role in the next skill in this category.

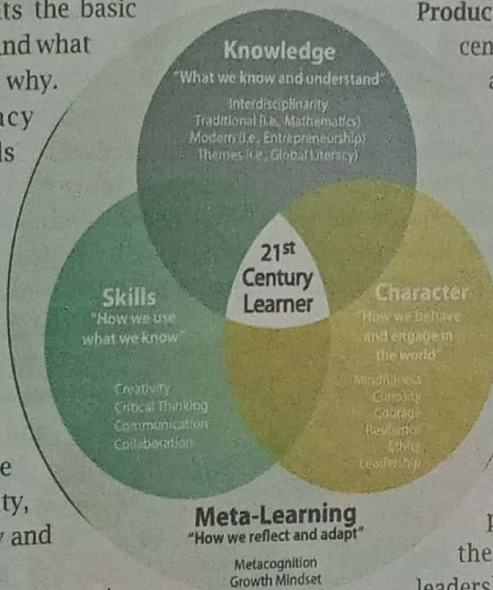
**Leadership:** It involves someone's abilities for setting goals, walking a team through the steps required, and achieving those goals collaboratively. Whether someone is a seasoned entrepreneur or a fresh hire just starting his/her careers, leadership applies to life and career both. As students lead individual school departments, they can learn the ins and outs of their specific assignments. That gives ambitious students the expertise they need to grow workwise and lead the whole project. Leadership alone isn't enough to get ahead though.

**Initiative:** True success also requires initiative, requiring students to be self-starters. The initiative only comes naturally to a handful of people. As a result, students

need to learn and practice it to fully succeed. This is, again, one of the hardest skills to learn and practice. Initiative often means working on projects outside of regular working hours. The rewards for students with extreme initiative vary from person to person. Sometimes they're good grades.

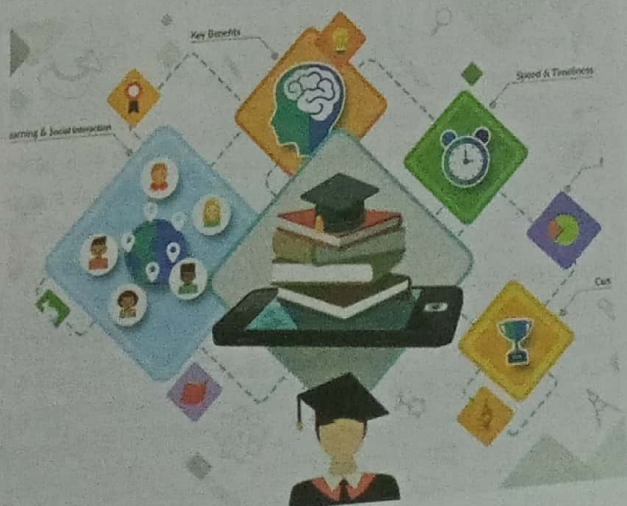
Regardless, the initiative is an attribute that earns rewards. It's especially indicative of someone's character in terms of work ethic and professional progress. That goes double when the initiative is practiced with added qualities like flexibility and leadership.

**Productivity:** Along with initiative, 21st-century skills require students to learn about productivity. That's a student's ability to complete work in an appropriate amount of time and it's called "efficiency." The common goal of any academic mentor or workplace supervisor is to get more done in less time. By understanding productivity strategies at every level, students discover how they work best while gaining an appreciation for how others work as well. That equips them with the practical means to carry out the ideas they determine through flexibility, leadership, and initiative. There is still one last skill that ties all other 21st-century skills



together.

**Social skills:** These are indispensable and crucial to the ongoing success of any learner and professional. Projects and businesses are frequently done through the connections one person makes with others around them. But this concept of networking is more active in some industries than others, but proper social skills are excellent tools for building long-lasting relationships. In today's world, the rise of social media and instant





communications have changed the nature of human interactions. As a result, today's students are equipped with a wide range of social skills. Some are more socially skilful than others; some are far behind their peers and some lucky few may be far ahead, as socialising comes naturally to them. Teaching and learning four C's is only the beginning of 21st-century skills as tools that can be universally applied to enhance ways of thinking, learning, working and living in the world and guide students to achieve higher leadership goals in life.

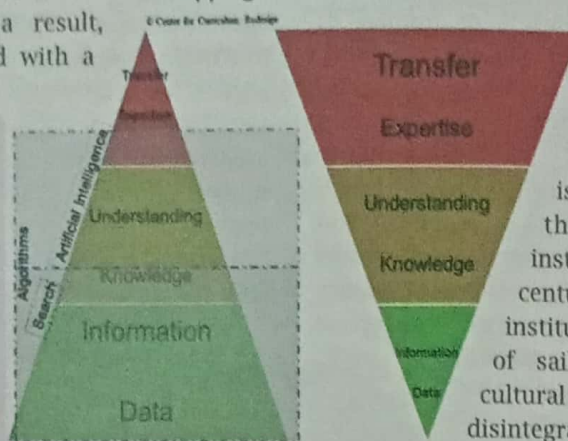
The real purpose of 21st-century education is motivated by the belief that teaching the students most relevant, useful in demand and universally applicable skills should be prioritized in schools and universities.

However, due to globalization, information and knowledge are increasing at such an astronomical rate that no one can master all the information about one subject. What proven true today could be false tomorrow and jobs that students get after they graduate may not yet exist. For this reason, students need to be taught how to use and process information in the most effective manner. They need to learn adaptable skills they can apply in all areas of life. Emphasis needs be placed on understanding the concepts and on applying critical thinking to real life-based scenarios.

Ability to collaborate and work in teams must be instilled as well as the use of technology, ability to conduct research and chance to learn about career opportunities. Also civic, ethical and social justice, literacy as well as humanitarianism must be part of compulsory learning skills.

Undoubtedly, Pakistan faces significant education challenges and one of them is being unable to deliver qualitative education. This could be due to lack of facilities to advance the quality of education being provided or financial inefficiency of educational budget. However, the government could sow the seeds by provision of at least free WIFI access across the country. The policymakers can

### Flipping the Curriculum



focus on adoption of such education reforms that have an equity focus from the beginning. Article 25-A categorically stresses the need for equal opportunity. However it is not possible to accomplish this if the private sector educational institutes are trying to sail the 21st-century boat while the public sector institutes have not even learnt the basics of sailing. The geographic diversity, cultural and social variations can be disintegrated by shaping a uniform education system by adoption of advance

common standards of curriculum.

The 21st-century education is not a short-term agenda with the goal to streamline the provision of education at primary and secondary school level; it is an identified plan to potential contribution in economic growth with major focus on increase in number of skilled workers, improvement in professional development and to unleash creativity and innovation amongst Pakistan's 200 million human capital. To move forward in education requires the national and provincial governments to coordinate and collaborate on instilling the prerogatives of skills based learning and goal oriented mechanism. Hence, we need to realise that new social contract is different, as only people who have knowledge and skills to negotiate constant change and reinvent themselves for new situations will only succeed. ■

*The writer is a member of staff.*

### SNC and 21st-century Skills

The development of single national curriculum (SNC) is driven by the key considerations like teachings of the Quran and Sunnah, constitutional framework, national policies, aspirations and national standards, alignment with the SDG-4, vision of Quaid and Iqbal, focus on values, life skills-based and inclusive education, respect and appreciation for different cultures and religions in local and global context, focus on project, inquiry and activity-based learning, development of 21st-century skills including analytical, critical and creative thinking. In the SNC, students would be encouraged to activity-based learning, higher order thinking, application of knowledge to real life, move away from rote memorisation and focus on project and inquiry and development of 21st-century skills including analytical, critical and creative thinking, communication, problem solving etc. The SNC will also have focus on holistic development of students through integration of positive attitudes and values, care for self and others, promotion of peace, respect, tolerance, kindness, empathy towards all irrespective of gender, caste, religion and social status.





Muhammad Shahid Rafique

Developing countries have been hit hard by the pandemic with huge socio-economic impact. World Bank's baseline economic outlook envisages a 5.2 percent contraction in global GDP in 2020. According to the same estimates, South Asia's GDP will contract by 2.7 percent, that of Sub-Saharan Africa by 2.8 percent and of Middle East by 4.7 percent. GDP growth rate has dropped significantly in these regions, resulting in soaring unemployment and increased poverty. However socio-economic impacts of Covid-19 on different countries vary, given their capacities and resources. Pakistan is highly vulnerable. The health system of Pakistan is not equipped enough to cope with pandemic of this magnitude. It is disheartening to note that, in the country, only one doctor is available to 963 people and only one bed is available to 1608 patients. There is shortage of doctors and nurses in the hospitals and the people living in far-flung areas are practically left with no opportunities to get initial medical aid in case of emergencies, let alone proper treatment. These insufficient health facilities amidst the pandemic have made people more vulnerable to socio-economic fallouts of Covid-19. During the past few years, Pakistan had made some

modest progress regarding poverty alleviation. Poverty in 2015-16 was 24% as against 64.3% in 2001, lifting around 23 million people out of poverty during this period. But, the pandemic is likely to reverse all the gains. There are huge disparities in terms of poverty in rural and urban areas of the country and also between the rural areas of different provinces. The pandemic has posed serious challenges for the poor. In the following paragraphs, this scribe will focus on the socio-economic impact of the pandemic on the vulnerable segments of the society.

#### Socio-economic Impact Assessment

According to Pakistan Economic Survey 2019-20, an estimated 56.6 percent of Pakistan's population is vulnerable in social and economic terms as a result of the Covid-19. Women and children from the underprivileged stratum of the society will be affected badly, especially women working in informal sectors, and their households will be bearing the brunt of the crisis in the long run. In order to gauge the socio-economic impact of Covid-19 on Pakistan, impact assessment will be made, taking into consideration the following three areas:

- i) Economic vulnerabilities
- ii) Social vulnerabilities
- iii) Food security-related vulnerabilities

Covid-19 has jolted the world and affected human life in a variety of ways. It is one of the most infectious diseases challenging the mankind with significant socio-economic impacts. With its outbreak from the Chinese city of Wuhan, life across the globe came to a complete standstill, forcing the people to stay indoors. The World Health Organization (WHO) dubbed the Covid-19 a pandemic on 11 March 2020. In Pakistan, first two cases were detected on 26 Feb. 2020. By 27 November 2020, there are 389,311 confirmed cases in Pakistan. Out of these, 335,881 had recovered and 7,897 died while there were 2,112 people in critical condition.

## Socio-economic Impact of

# COVID-19

CORONAVIRUS

## on the Vulnerable



## 1. Economic Vulnerabilities

### a. Employment and labour force

As per Pakistan Economic Survey 2019-20, there is an estimated 61.7 million employed labour force in Pakistan. Out of this lot, 27.3 million are in informal sector. It is these people that are most vulnerable. Among the most vulnerable, the loss of employment has been estimated to be between 12.5 million and 15.5 million in case of a partial lockdown and between 18.7 million and 19.1 million in case of a complete lockdown.

### b. Labour migration and overseas Pakistanis

According to a UNDP report, this sector has also been adversely affected by the Covid-19. The global economy has contracted as a result of the pandemic. Restrictions on international travel have hit badly the migrant workers. As a result of the restrictions, some migrant workers have experience permanent unemployment, and others temporary. All this has resulted in the reduction in their incomes. Pakistan Economic Survey 2019-20 reports that about 50,000-60,000 workers could not move abroad after they were registered at the Protectorate Office due to restrictions on travel. Hiring of 100,000 positions has also been stopped due to the restrictions. This has badly affected the migrant workers because they either lost their jobs or could not get a new one because of the lockdown, and contraction in global economy thereof.

### c. Inequalities in labour force

There are certain professions where women dominate, e.g. domestic workers in the informal sector, and teachers, instructors, nurses and doctors in the formal sector. Due to lockdown and closure of transport, it has been difficult for women to commute and, therefore, they were the most vulnerable to losing their jobs. This tendency, if persists, could lead to reduced female participation in the work force. An analysis of home-based workers (HBWs) found that there are currently 12 million HBWs who earn around Rs. 3, 000 to

Rs. 4,000 monthly (Pakistan Economic Survey 2019-20). Being employed in informal sector, they are left with no social security. During the complete lockdown, this segment of labour force was hit badly and almost lost their livelihood.

## II. Social Vulnerabilities

### a. Healthcare provision

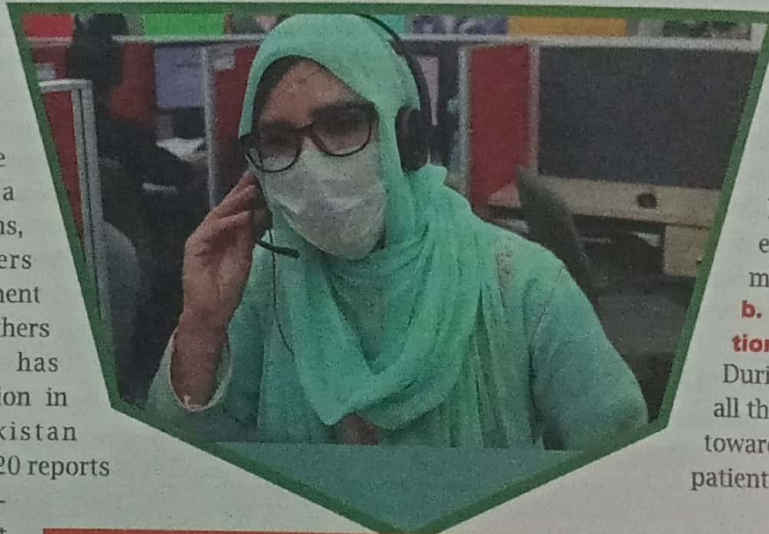
Pakistan's healthcare facilities are not in line with the demands of a growing population. The country was not in a position to handle a pandemic of this magnitude. Doctor-to-patient ratio in the country is pathetic. Outbreak of the pandemic further exposed gaps and fractures in the healthcare system that was already under stress. Disruptions in supplies put great pressure on the availability of testing kits, personal protective equipment (PPE) and medical supplies.

### b. Health and immunization of children

During complete lockdown, all the resources were directed towards treating the Covid-19 patients, and non-Covid-related health issues faced disruptions. The general healthcare and the immunization of children faced severe setback. It is important to note that 6 million children are born annually in Pakistan and, sadly, only 66 percent are fully immunized per the figures quoted in Pakistan Economic Survey 2019-20. Travel restrictions and disrupted supply chains resulted in the shortage of the essential vaccines, thereby stopping the immunization services. Given this, more children will be left without immunization, causing, therefore, serious health implications to them.

### c. Education and learning continuity

Education system is already in tatters and the dropout rate was already staggeringly high. There are 42 million school-going learners from pre-primary to degree levels in the country. Covid-19 has affected the school-going children badly. Education system, which is already marked by inefficiency and dropout has become more





vulnerable after the Covid-19 outbreak. This tendency, if continues unabated, may increase illiteracy rate in the country. We have the youngest population ever in our history and if we leave them uneducated and unskilled, it will be catastrophic for us in the future. There is a dire need of crafting an overarching policy aimed at mitigating the effects of the Covid-19 so that our frail education system is safeguarded.

#### **d. Causing inequalities in education**

Public and private schools were the first to be closed and they are not fully operational yet. This closure of educational institutions is going to hit hard the most vulnerable groups, especially those living in the rural areas and slums in the cities. Amid the crisis, women are going to be affected more as compared to men. Restrictions on transport, limited mobility, decline in household income and purchasing power thereof are likely to cause reduction in enrolment rates and increase in dropout rate of the girls.

#### **e. Increased gender-based violence**

Irrespective of Covid-19, violence against women is increasing in Pakistan at an alarming rate. Almost 90 percent of women have experienced some form of violence at the hands of their husbands or families, 50 percent of women report that their suffering either increases or does not change when they are pregnant, only 0.4 percent women take their cases to the court and almost 50 percent of women who experience domestic violence do not respond in any way and suffer silently.

Statistics released by Punjab Safe Cities Authority and Punjab Unified Communication and Response (PUCAR-15) reveal a tremendous rise in domestic violence against women during the Covid-19 lockdown. The statistics are based on the calls received by PUCAR-15. The data further reveals that 13,478 calls reporting violence were received on 15 help lines from Lahore only between January and May 2020. As many as 2,096 calls were received in January, 2,360 in February and 2,853 in March. The help lines received 3,079 calls in April and 2,390 in May. This clearly demonstrates that violence against women increased during lockdown.

#### **III. Food security-related vulnerabilities**

During the complete lockdown, there were border closures and travel restrictions. It means that there were no marketplace activities. This created disruptions in agriculture supplies such as seeds, fertilizers and

livestock feed, etc. It is going to greatly impact the local consumers with the shortage of farm produce in the market.

Lockdown, market closures, trade restrictions and disrupted supply chains may restrict people's access to sufficient and nutritious sources of food. It will further affect those already faced with shortage of food. It is important to note that around 80 percent of the people spend 70 percent of their income on food only. People belonging to lower socioeconomic groups have been affected badly in the crisis and continue to suffer. Almost 62 percent of households belonging to lower socioeconomic groups rely on farm labour and daily wages to earn their livelihood.

#### **Response of the government**

The Government of Pakistan came up with a PKR 1.13 trillion package which was aimed at providing direct

assistance to the vulnerable sections of

the society along with protecting business and

industry. The first state-level policy response came

from the National Security Committee (NCC) in its

meetings held on 13 March 2020. The other bodies which

were directly involved in policy decision making were;

National Coordination Committee headed by Prime

Minister with all Chief Ministers as its members. Initially, NCC was

assisted by the Implementation and the Monitoring Cell established in Prime Minister's

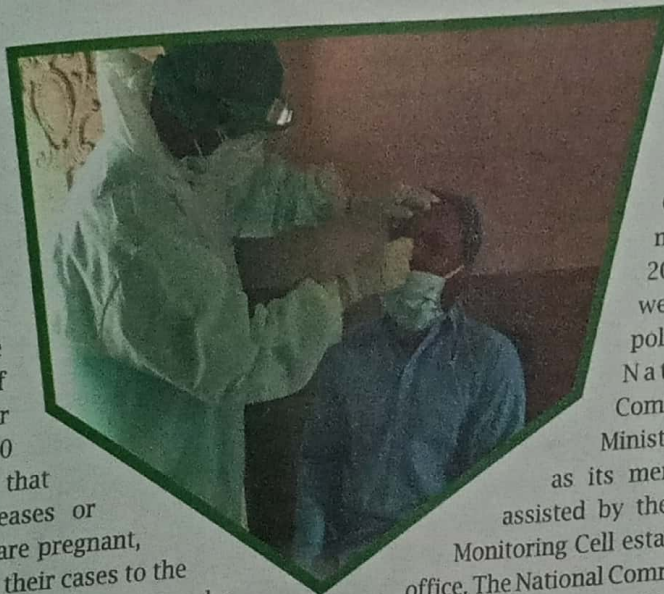
office. The National Command and Operation Centre (NCOC) was also established by the end of March 2020. A

national coordinator was also appointed by Pakistan Army.

#### **Challenges**

Firstly, the federal government lacked legal basis to declare a national health emergency. Such a legal basis is still missing though a draft bill has been tabled before the cabinet and it was decided to forward the same to the Council of Common Interests. This needs to be effectively pursued.

Secondly, a global catastrophe of this magnitude requires joint response both by the federal and the provincial governments. There was good coordination among the federal ministries. But the vertical coordination between the federal and the provincial governments was not less than a challenge. They were not on the same page regarding different measures to cope with the pandemic. This is also closely linked with the above-stated point and needs to be addressed without compromising the spirit of devolution in health.

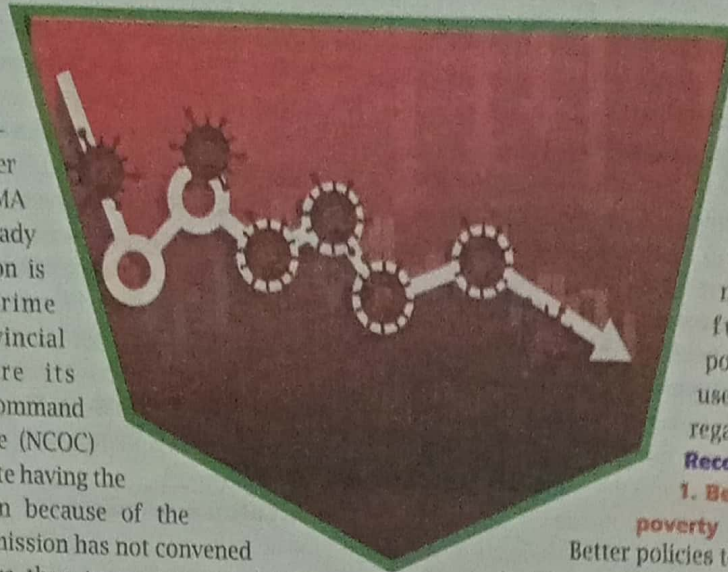




Thirdly, National Disaster Management Authority (NDMA) and a powerful commission, established under the very robust NDMA Act, 2010, were already there. The Commission is headed by the Prime Minister with provincial chief ministers as its members. National Command and Operation Centre (NCOC) was established despite having the powerful Commission because of the fact that NDMA Commission has not convened any meeting for more than two years. The NCOC performed reasonably well but the NDMA Commission should be proactive to deal with future emergencies. A country like ours where floods are quite common, the non-convening of any meeting in more than two years is not understandable especially when the Commission comprises the Prime Minister and the Chief Ministers. Fourthly, the government faced difficulties in coping with Covid-19 pandemic because of the cultural context of the country. The mosques were shut down in most of the Muslim countries but the same could not be done in Pakistan because of the fear of the backlash from the religious groups. Non-closure of the mosques across the country led to the spike in the Covid-19 cases after the lockdown was relaxed in the holy month of Ramadan. Fifthly, the people were in a state of denial. Despite a global phenomenon, the people living in the semi-urban and rural areas were not ready to believe that the pandemic ever existed. This tendency is very dangerous. With this mindset, it will be a daunting challenge for the government to cope with the Covid-19 if it spreads to villages.

#### Conclusion

There is no denying the fact that Covid-19 has badly affected the people living on margins. It has also exposed the gaps and fractures in the country's health system. The vulnerable sections of the society have been hit hard by the pandemic; especially those working in the informal sectors lost their jobs. Gender-based violence has also been on the increase during the complete lockdown. The magnitude of the severity of Covid-19 is yet to be



determined. However, it has exposed our vulnerabilities. The development experts, therefore, must keep these vulnerabilities in mind while chalking out future development policies. Here are some very useful suggestions in this regard:

#### Recommendations

##### 1. Better policies to address poverty

Better policies to address poverty can be instrumental in reducing inequality in the country. There should be focus on resilience, skill development and access to resources, economic growth and inclusive policies.

##### 2. Bridging the gap between policy and practice

There is a general gap in policy and practice in the country. Sometimes, even good policies do not yield the desired results because of non-implementation. Keeping in view the gravity of the situation, there is a dire need that the gap between policy and practice be bridged.

##### 3. Ensuring food security

Keeping in view that the Covid-19 has affected the economy generally and the agriculture sector particularly, we are likely to face food insecurity. The government needs to make special arrangements for ensuring food security.

##### 4. Making joint efforts

In order to cope with the tragedy of this

magnitude, there should be joint efforts. The federal government and the federating units should be on the same page. The issues arising out of the 18th Amendment should be amicably solved without compromising on the spirit of devolution.

##### 5. Giving more resources to health sector

Our healthcare system is under stress. It is high time we started diverting more resources to the hospitals so that they sufficiently cater for the needs of the growing population.



*The writer is a Chevening Scholar and studied International Development: Development Management at the University of Manchester*



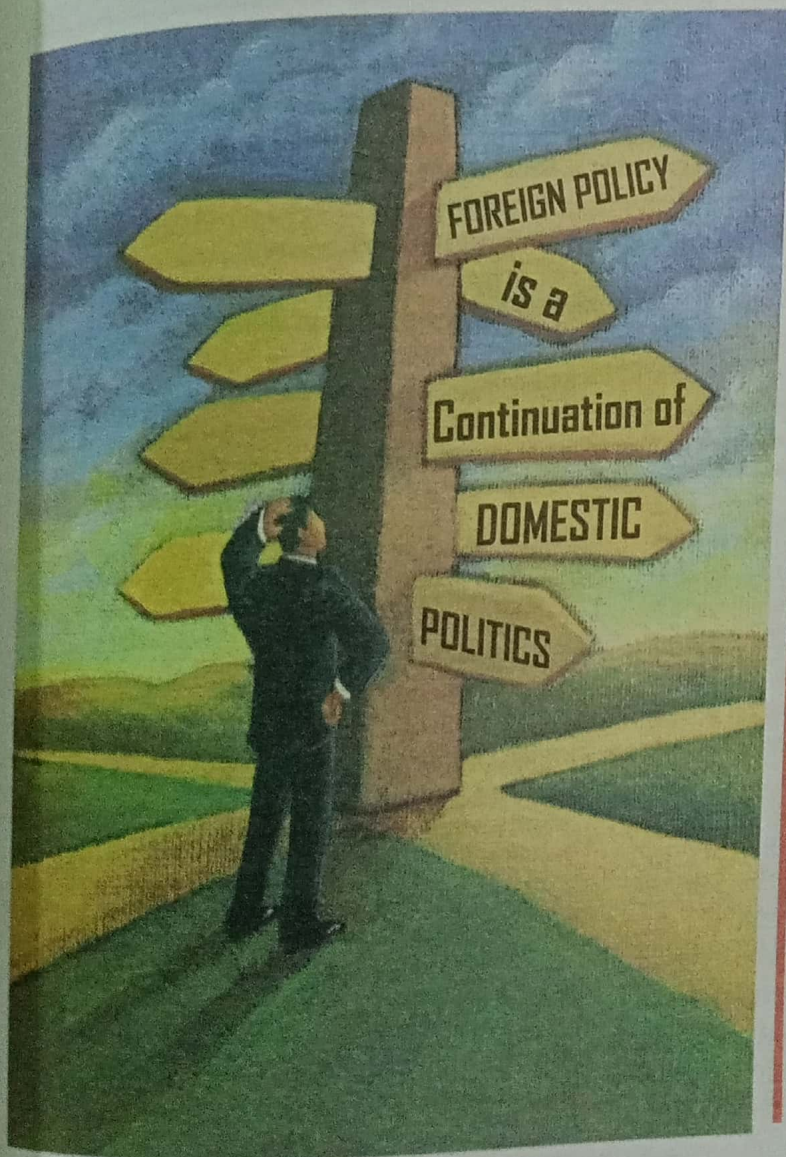
**F**oreign policies are, in most cases, designed through coalitions of domestic and international actors and groups. When analyzing the head of government, or in other words, the executor of foreign policies, many motivating factors can be identified to explain the rationale behind decisions taken. Some factors of influence include the leader's own personality and cognition, degree of rationality, domestic politics and international and domestic interest groups. However out of all the factors mentioned, it is domestic political environment that shapes the entire framework of decision-making in a country even in international context. The scope of the head of government in making decisions is first and foremost defined by the political system where he is operating. Depending on the power vested in his post and the importance of political and public consensus in the state in question, the head of government can make foreign policy decisions. Other

factors such as rationality, personality, international organizations also hold influence on the head of government. However, they can also be compromised by the political environment, again depending on the kind of system practiced.

#### Introduction

Politics is not an abstract concept produced by theorists outside the realm of practical developments or solely with a normative commitment to an idealized order. At an abstract level, politics can be seen as a particular kind of engagement with an aim to acquire enough power and capability to influence the identity, interests and behaviours of others, both at home and abroad. Deciding 'who gets what and when' lies at the center of various kinds of political engagements.

From a philosophical perspective, all political activities, whether they are conducted at the individual, family, societal, state, international or global levels, have one overriding goal: to ensure the physical integrity, prosper-



Foreign policy, which includes all interactions of individual nation-states with other states, is designed by the head of government with the aim of achieving complex domestic and international agendas. It means foreign policy is intimately linked with the domestic politics. As foreign policies form the base for international interactions between individual states, the foreign arena is used to defend domestic interests, and the course of domestic politics determines various factors abroad. It is due to this reason that foreign policy-making usually involves an elaborate series of steps where domestic politics plays an important role.



ity and well-being of the actor that engages in such activities. Whether we talk about states, individuals or other political actors, all political activities are also normative in essence.

Ensuring physical survival, trying to become more powerful than others and acquiring the tools so that one can transform others with the influence of one's own image, are all normative exercises.

We all believe that we deserve to exist in this world and, for that, we need to strive to bring into existence a friendly environment. If we don't live in a friendly environment, neither our physical survival nor mental integrity can be guaranteed. The need to pursue transformational policies at different scales has become more acute in recent years as growing exposure to others alongside the processes of globalization, integration and transnationalism has begun affecting our lives more decisively than ever.

but trade and humanitarian interactions as well.

The political environment of a country includes all laws, government agencies and lobbying groups that influence, or restrict individuals or organizations in the society. The political system determines the scope and power of a head of state in making decisions related to foreign policy.

The factors that sway the foreign policy-making vary from state to state, depending on the political system the head of government operates in. For example, for the head of government in a democracy such as Pakistan, consensus of the office and public opinion will play an important role. A socialist republic like China may be harsher in taking decisions which may not meet public consensus but have a long-term national agenda.

#### Foreign policy goals

As in domestic politics, the underlying goal of politicians in foreign politics is to ensure a nation's survival through

Foreign Policy	Description of Policy Position
<b>isolationism</b>	country stays out of foreign entanglements; keeps to itself; non-involvement
<b>containment</b>	country tries to limit spread of opposing ideological viewpoint or military expansion
<b>preemption</b>	country uses threat of or actual use of force to promote policy goals
<b>retaliatory</b>	country counters measures taken by another country; economic, political, military
<b>selective engagement</b>	country maintains military presence; engagement through alliances & installations
<b>intervention</b>	country intervenes for humanitarian reasons; economic aid, health resources, etc.
<b>interdependence</b>	country ties itself to other countries through political, economic & defense policies

We no longer have the luxury of separating ourselves from others and live in our ghettos. The idea that we need to survive is at its roots a normative claim, for we believe that our existence in this world matters. From this angle, all normative preachings with respect to how things at home and abroad should be organized do in fact reflect the quintessential goal of politics, i.e. to survive physically and spiritually.

Looking from this perspective, one can safely argue that different understandings of how things should be done, in fact, reflect our different interpretations of what exists in reality. The idealized world we cherish constitutes our real world. Our individual prescriptions of a much better and just life do serve our need to survive.

#### Foreign policy and political environment

Foreign policy is the sum of official external relations conducted by an independent actor (usually a state) in international relations. It includes not only military action

the employment of different strategies and instruments. Irrespective of regime type, political ideologies, national role conceptualizations, formal rules of political arrangements, personality traits of decision-makers and many other variables that potentially affect foreign policy, the real motivation of a state is to help bring into existence a friendly environment at home and abroad. Strategies, road maps, blueprints, tactics and instruments might change, yet the key goal remains the same.

#### The link

Looking at foreign policy from this perspective suggests that there are no clear dividing lines between domestic and foreign policy. Similar to Prussian military theorist Carl Von Clausewitz's famous dictum that war is the continuation of politics by other means, foreign policy is also the continuation of domestic politics outside national boundaries.

As it is said in the context of American politics, foreign



policy does not stop at the water's edge. All international engagements are undertaken with domestic political considerations in the background. This is the case all over the world and neither regime type, personal characteristics of rulers, the geographical location of countries nor power distribution within the existing system would change this fact.

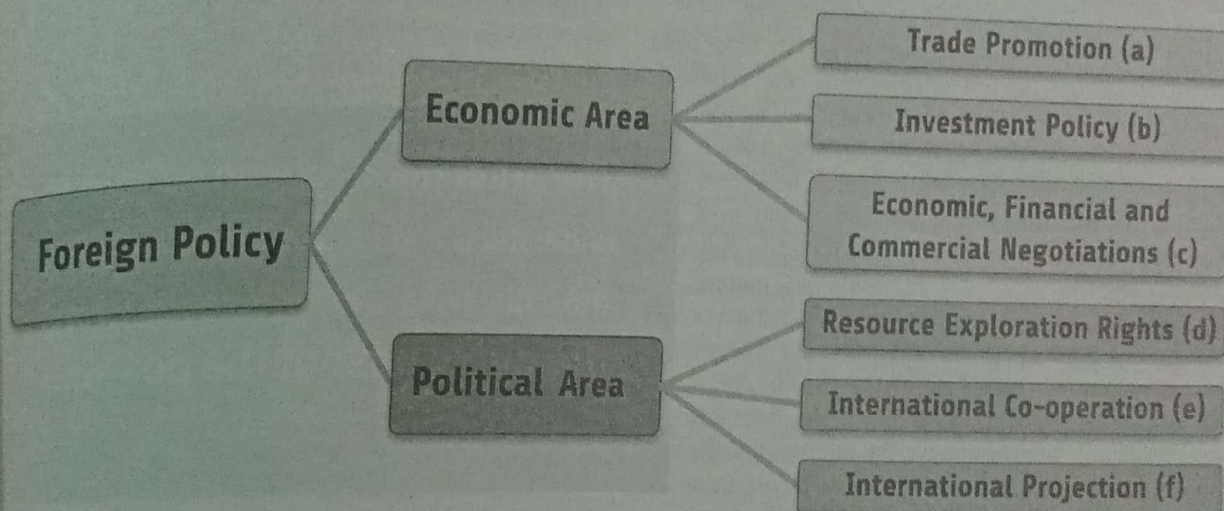
### Philosophical base

As the constructivist international relations theory puts it succinctly, domestic and foreign politics are constitutive of each other. Therefore, it is wrong to accuse any politician in any particular country of putting political interests at the centre of his or her political engagements at home and abroad. As classical realists argue, the rules of politics are the same internally and externally. Yet such a characterization of politics should not lead us to conclude that the ends will always justify the means. Philosophers Thomas Hobbes, Hans J. Morgenthau and

not to interfere with domestic agendas. The head of the government has to consider domestic sentiments as well as the international situation. If there is a conflict between domestic and international interest the head of the government will probably give emphasis to domestic interest, or surpass the situation altogether. In the modern world, in most political systems, implementation of proposed policies requires a consensus by the government, and not only the leader's whim. The degree of acceptability required will depend on the political system where the decision-maker is operating. For example, any foreign policy in a democratic system that does not have consensus is unlikely to succeed.

### A pertinent case study

The influence of domestic politics can be demonstrated here with the example of an India-US treaty. The foreign policy in question here was a nuclear treaty that was to be made between India and the United States in 2005. India



Kenneth Waltz are correct to point out the anarchical nature of the political environment in the general sense and the importance of survival logic undergirding different political activities.

Yet, on the other hand, Machiavelli's abject amorality in political life should not distract us from the fact that social relations at home and abroad can only be built on the basis of two timeless maxims, namely: "people are social animals" and "treat others the way you want them to treat you."

### Role of the policymaker

National leaders, especially the heads of government, have to play a two-level game between international and domestic politics. The head of government in any kind of political system is motivated by two similar goals: retain political power and build and maintain policy coalitions. The domestic politics can also influence him either because he wants to achieve domestic goals through foreign policies or he wants his foreign policy decisions

had not signed the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) and demanded to hold on to and foster its nuclear capabilities to defend itself as long as other countries did so as well. There was opposition from US regarding that and especially regarding the tests conducted by India as well as Pakistan in 1998. The 2005 treaty was designed with the aim of allowing India to continue not signing the NPT in exchange of allowing the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) to conduct inspections of its civilian nuclear facilities. This treaty had also allowed India to reprocess nuclear fuel for energy generation and validated its position as a nuclear weapons power. Despite it being a win-win situation for India, the head of government was prepared to withdraw from this treaty to protect domestic political issues. At that time, a coalition government of the UPA, was in power in India. Manmohan Singh was selected by the Congress Party leadership to be prime minister and head of the government. In 2007, the



communist party, threatened to bring down the coalition government if this nuclear agreement was made with the United States. The main opposition party, BJP also strongly opposed this treaty as the collapse of the government would be beneficial for them. The treaty in discussion did not require the parliament's approval but pressured by the threat of losing office, the head of government was prepared to back down from this treaty. If the Communist party had withdrawn from the coalition, re-elections would be called and there was no guarantee for Congress that they will regain power. So, Manmohan Singh declared that he would not risk a general election for the sake of the treaty. The point highlighted by this example is that the head of government of India was prepared to sacrifice a very important foreign policy for domestic politics. So, it can be concluded that the head of government tries to satisfy domestic pressures even at the cost of international developments.

#### Some examples

##### 1. USA

Foreign Policies of the United States are greatly influenced by the domestic political environment, the economic implications and the president's standing in the polls in lieu of policies taken by him. In case of wars, it is even more sensitive. War requires resources such as money, troops and equipment and in a democracy, resources require continued public support. The people's representatives in Congress control public spending. If a majority of lawmakers vote against the war, it will be defunded. If a military plan is not supported by majority of lawmakers, it will be called off or at best be changed. However, it is the President's job to convince the Congress of the validity of any decisions, which must incorporate domestic political agenda. For example, in World War II, US Army Chief of Staff Gen. George C. Marshall recommended that the right military strategy was to focus on Germany first, merely holding the line against Japan until the bigger threat was defeated in Europe and only after Germany was out of the way should the country move forces east and deal with the Japanese. President Franklin D. Roosevelt opted instead for parallel offensives against both Germany and Japan at the same time. According to his policy, the United States actually attacked Japan before it began its first attacks on Germany. A crucial motivating factor behind this decision was that Roosevelt was worried that he would lose domestic political support for the war if he ignored the country that attacked the United States at Pearl Harbour, fighting Germans instead.

##### 2. Germany

In his 1969 book 'War of Illusions (Krieg der Illusionen)', Fritz Fischer, professor emeritus at Hamburg University and one of the most influential historians of modern Germany since 1945, offered a detailed study of German

politics from 1911 to 1914 in which he offered a *Primat der Innenpolitik* (Primacy of Domestic Politics) analysis of German foreign policy. In Fischer's view, the Imperial German state saw itself under siege by rising demands for democracy at home and looked to distract demands for strivings through a policy of aggression abroad.

##### 3. China

Over the past few months, Chinese foreign policy has taken a dramatic and aggressive turn. China has lashed out at Australia for questioning its handling of the Covid-19 pandemic, bolstered its claims in the South China Sea, stepped up patrols around the Japanese-controlled Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands, clashed with India in the Himalayas, and sent warplanes across the median line in the Taiwan Strait. It has also doubled down on efforts to defend Huawei by charging two Canadians, Michael Kovrig and Michael Spavor, with espionage after a Canadian court refused to stop extradition proceedings against CFO Meng Wanzhou, and warned the United Kingdom it would "bear the consequences" for excluding the telecom giant from its 5G network. From these issues, it is evident that since the Chinese leaders cannot afford

The art of good foreign policy is to understand and to take into consideration the values of a society, to realize them at the outer limit of the possible.

Henry Kissinger

to appear weak or indecisive at home, they feel compelled to act strongly and forcefully abroad, especially given the popular nationalism the party-state has fostered since 1989. In fact, this phenomenon is the only reasonable explanation for the emergence of China's combative "Wolf Warrior" diplomacy which has alienated many outside China, while winning kudos at home.

##### Conclusion

Foreign policy is made and conducted in complex domestic and international environments. Domestic politics influences foreign policy decisions and if a policy is not accepted at home, it is unlikely to succeed in the international context. If one cardinal rule of politics is to survive and maximize power, the other is that human beings cannot live alone. All political activities are conducted in social environments, and we should never cease our efforts to strike the right balance between survival or power needs on the one hand and the eternal principle that "unity can only be achieved in diversity" on the other. ■



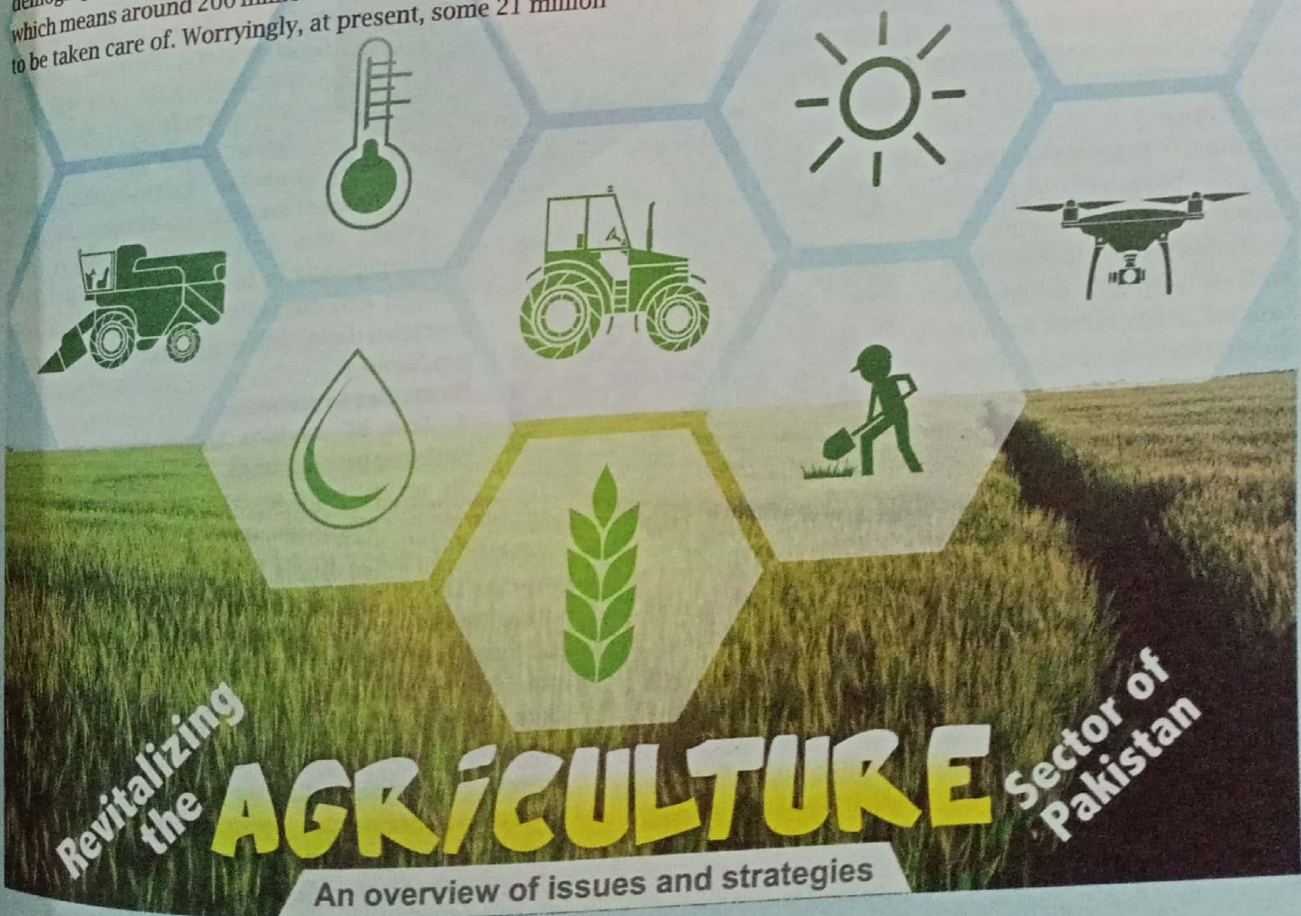
**D**espite being neglected over the decades, the agriculture sector remains the backbone of Pakistan's economy. It is still the largest sector of the economy of Pakistan in terms of labour participation, and as such livelihood of the majority of the population directly or indirectly depends on it. This sector employs approximately 40% of the country's total labour force, provides income to 64% rural population, and contributes 19.3% to GDP (Pakistan Economic Survey 2019-20). It has been a major consumer of industrial goods that are manufactured locally, i.e. tractors, pesticides and fertilisers. Apart from this, it also ensures the supply of essential raw material to the export-oriented industries which in turn, enables the country to export goods abroad and earn valuable foreign exchange. Therefore, it can be said that revitalizing, restructuring and reorienting agro-based economy is *sine qua non* for a progressive, prosperous and developed Pakistan. But, decades of inconsistent, uncoordinated and untargeted policies adopted by successive governments towards the agriculture sector have exacerbated the economic woes facing this country. It is remarkable to note that agricultural productivity has been declining, causing challenges of food security and subsequently, adversely impacting economic growth. According to UNDP forecasts, Pakistan's demographic profile will dramatically change by 2050 which means around 200 million additional people will have to be taken care of. Worryingly, at present, some 21 million

Pakistanis are grappling with worrisome food insecurity. What makes the situation more complex is the unprecedented monsoon rains in August this year that apparently, dealt a serious blow to the small- and medium-sized land-owners particularly, in Sindh province. It is reported that all major crops that were at the harvesting phase, including cotton, sugarcane, onion, vegetables, and tomato, have been damaged. Agricultural experts have also warned that massive destruction of agriculture production due to both heavy spells of rain and locust swarms have posed a formidable threat to food security in Pakistan. However, the inability and failure of the authorities to encourage farm modernization, facilitate the supply of agricultural technological equipment, build an efficient irrigation network and promote research and development (R&D) have been the key factors responsible for the declining per-acre yield over the years. Because of this, the farmers have been unable to invest their financial and economic resources in value-added crops that include edible oils, vegetables and fruits that have the potential to raise their incomes exponentially. Nevertheless, despite being the 5th largest milk-producer country along with hosting a huge cattle population, a large chunk of Pakistan's population finds it unaffordable to consume milk and meat which signifies weaknesses and vulnerabilities of the country's livestock sector.

#### The impediments

##### 1. Conventional methods of farming

Impoverished farmers owning small land-holdings tend to





apply traditional methods of cultivation and farming practices in their farms as they find it difficult to invest in modern methods and innovative technologies. It has been observed that poverty, lack of awareness about modern techniques and subsistence farming—where farm output is grown to fulfil only family's needs with no surplus for sale—have forced farmers to abstain from putting in place advanced farming activities.

Additionally, the dismal economic conditions of farmers also restrict their ability to use *fer* fertilisers—essential elements for plant nutrition. These, collectively, bring about depletion in the overall land productivity and per-hectare yield. Recently, locust attack posed an unprecedented challenge to the agricultural production. Although this challenge was effectively overcome by many other developing nations by methods like using unmanned aerial vehicles, Pakistan couldn't do much as its agriculture sector is ill-equipped in terms of technology.

## 2. Inequitable water supplies and inefficient irrigation system

Water is one of the essential inputs in agriculture. Pakistan's weakening agro-based economy confronts imbalanced water distributions in watercourse together with unreliable water supplies to the arable land which has led to a substantial decline in crop yields across the country.

Importantly, Pakistan hosts one of the biggest irrigation networks, but, owing to inefficiencies and irregularities such as seepage, leakage and unlined canals, 60% of the water gets wasted. As per the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), Pakistan is likely to be the most water-stressed country in the Asian region by 2040. This will certainly create a great scarcity of surface water required for irrigation and industry.

## 3. Absence of robust credit facilities

An inadequate credit policy framework associated with a high-interest rate and untimely supply of loans curtail the potential of farmers to invest in farms, ensure the enhancement of land's fertility, adopt mechanized farming techniques, and buying qualitative agricultural inputs. Resultantly, farmers end up getting low crop yield and agricultural productivity.

## 4. Lack of investment in R&D

Lack of investment in agricultural R&D has made it almost impossible for the concerned authorities to allow farmers to, *inter alia*, embrace new seed varieties, use better water-utilization methods and innovative technologies such as sprinkler, bed planting, zero tillage, laser land levelling, and leaching. Unfortunately, the negligence of the executive-cum-legislative branch of the state can be gauged from the fact that the allocation of financial resources to R&D remained from 0.11 to 0.63 percent of agricultural GDP over the last two decades.

## 5. Dearth of technical and vocational education

What is more troubling is the incompetence of the administrative hierarchy to organize technical and vocational training programmes related to teaching advanced techniques to farmers so that they can use much-needed knowledge and experience for the betterment of soil, crops and land productivity. The key stakeholders of the agricultural sector are the Ministry of National

Food Security & Research and provincial agriculture departments that have been driven by incompetent officialdom, putting in place no meaningful reforms to revamp the agriculture economy.

## 6. Inadequate seed production

The insufficient seed-producing volume doesn't commensurate with the ever-rising needs of the cultivable land, owing to a series of financial, infrastructural and

human resource constraints. Although

public and private sectors have been investing greatly to produce seeds to bridge the demand and supply gap, quality and quantity produced have failed to raise the agricultural production.

## Strategies to revitalize

### 1. Use of modern technology and farmer training programmes

In an attempt to improve land productivity, modern technology and advanced technological equipment needs to be utilized and put in place by farmers. The incumbent PTI government and provincial authorities have to ensure a timely supply of equipment and tools, followed by robust, vibrant and effective farming education in rural areas of the country.

Easy access to micro-finance resources, financial incentives and technical support can help attain the objective of reinvigorating the agricultural sector. To add, awareness campaigns regarding high-yielding seeds, advanced irrigation and modern cultivation technologies can contribute as well. Farmers must be trained to use





solar-powered, high-efficiency irrigation methods, drones—required for aerial mapping, weed detection, and soil analysis—and smart water grids to uptick agricultural production. This will allow farmers to be efficient and profitable, as well as environment-friendly.

According to a World Economic Forum report, the Netherlands has become the world's second largest food exporter while curtailing the use of water by almost 90% and eliminating the use of insecticides and pesticides. Surprisingly, drones are used to monitor fields of potato and onion, helping the Dutch to produce crop yield more than double the global average. China, India and Brazil are following the same path carved by the Netherlands. Pakistan can learn from the success of these countries.

## 2. Expanding agricultural credit facilities

Farmers need financial resources to invest in improved fertilisers, new seed varieties, and updated irrigation technologies. Expanding the outreach of the banking sector to rural areas will allow farmers to have adequate access to loans that will be pivotal to the acceleration of agricultural production. In this critical facility, public-private partnership (PPP) can be instrumental in boosting up the process of granting loans to the farmers.

Recently, the federal government offered Rs 50 billion to enable farmers to access cheaper cottonseed, pesticides, fertilisers and tractors, and most importantly, bank loans. This package is aimed at improving the deteriorating socio-economic condition of the farmers in the wake of the Covid-19 pandemic. Although this is a welcome development, yet more is required immediately and urgently.

## 3. Land reforms

Land reforms are one of the significant strategies Pakistan can implement to revamp the agriculture sector.

Large as well as small landholdings have proved to be unproductive and ineffective. These impediments can be removed with the help of determining productive farm size that should be implementable across the country. This will certainly force tenants and cultivators to invest in the enhancement of land productivity, leading to improvement in their lifestyles and ultimately, assuming upward social mobility. For that, the Parliament will have to build consensus among all the stakeholders for effective and pragmatic legislation related to land reforms.

## 4. Ameliorating water management

Considering the intense shortage of water, containing agricultural output, Pakistan needs to design robust policies to increase the storage capacity of existing dams, building new dams and constructing an efficient irrigation network. This demands an urgent attention of the policymakers as the availability of sufficient water on a

sustainable basis is indispensable to the country's economic development.

## 5. Increasing agricultural resilience, and support price policies

To ensure sustainable, long-lasting and enduring economic growth, Pakistan must build up its agricultural resilience by protecting this sector from extreme climatic and weather conditions such as floods, droughts and diseases and pests. This can be done by channeling public funding into comprehensive and corroborative agricultural research, agricultural inputs and seed systems, as well as soil and fertility management.

On the other hand, farmers often complain about lower prices of their crops, leading to a greater degree of demotivation and discouragement among them to invest heavily in farms. For that, the government has to ensure the proper application of price policy that can encourage farmers to increase output.

## 6. Adapting to urbanization

As huge rural-urban migration results in expanding urban centres in Pakistan, the demand for perishable items, i.e. vegetables, fruits, dairy products and meat, is increasing exponentially. The government should offer lucrative incentives to farmers to invest in these items by building the infrastructural network and better transportation. This way, a timely supply of essential items can be realized.

## 7. Development of agro-industrial cluster

The development of an agro-industrial cluster can generate more than US\$19 billion additional revenue for Pakistan, if the private sector begins investing in it. Gone are the days when subsidies were offered to the farmers by the governments to reduce their cost of production. Now, the market-driven approach along with problem-solving research, commercialized farming and construction of rural infrastructure can transform the agriculture sector as witnessed by other countries.

## Conclusion

Without eliminating chronic poverty that is prevailing especially in the countryside, Pakistan cannot attain economic progress. And poverty cannot be wiped out without strengthening the agriculture sector. But the problem is that inhabitants of rural areas, whose only business is agriculture, are poor. So, when Pakistan makes efforts to improve agriculture, it means it is making efforts to improve economic standing of the rural people which make around 64% of country's population. This way, the country can get rid of poverty, enabling farmers to improve their lives and livelihoods, and to produce more, feed more, and significantly, export more. Policy-makers need to understand this cycle. Rome wasn't built in a day! ☐





Jurisprudence is a double-edged sword. It is difficult for the tongue and mind.

Younger lot is troubled pronouncing it and older ones are burdened grasping it. Even experts are at pains to simplify it. When an authority on the subject like Michael Freeman is asked what it encompasses, he painfully admits of the old adage that there are as many answers as one may think. It is, thus, no surprise that the subject is vast and its explanation has variants. And there have been many attempts to come to grips with this abstract-at-first and exciting-at-later-stage discipline, and the process is ongoing. Its proper understanding, however, comes from either getting involved in the subject by going to its deeper meaning or by looking at it as a package of questions as opposed to package of theories. Both require hardcore commitment to eliminating factors that impair understanding and dampen desire to learn more.



There are different ways in which jurisprudence has been explained but the most enlightening ones are origin-based, result-based and depth-based approaches. Those who explain it from the etymological dimension (origin-based approach) typically break it down into its two Latin components as *juris* meaning legal and *prudence* meaning skill; together meaning legal skill. This approach is advocated by Wayne Morrison, the author of 'Jurisprudence from Greeks to Post-modernism', who refined it as a process in legal skill. This means it trains the mind to think legally as opposed to emotional, religious or cultural thinking (which becomes natural part of the thinking process if it is left unattended). It also means that it achieves this mental development in stages and gives productivity to sustained effort alone. Its first stage requires identification of mind games, which is knowledge of the factors that influence decision-making but keep people under the disguise that their decisions are pure and uninfluenced. These may range from parenting to schooling to culture. Its second stage requires acceptance of mind games, which is to come to terms with oneself that decisions can be fallible if they are subjectively influenced. For example, the

Jewish belief-system which restricts people from using Facebook may be a reason for ones' decision to advocate ban of social media. And if this is so, then one needs to accept that their reason for social media ban is religious fidelity. Its third stage requires elimination of mind games, which is to commit oneself to deliberate effort to keep one's decisions as little influenced by overarching factors as possible. Thus, if one is serving as a judge and feels that one is in a compromised position, one should recuse oneself from the case. This is uneasy by all means, and explains why people usually have distaste for jurisprudence and fail to appreciate it. But it is important to know how decisions are influenced and what can be done to overcome bad ones because as they say it is well-thought decisions that shape up personal development and societal growth. To bring this home, you have to do thought experiment. Just suppose your friend asked you to support the criminalization of false allegation of rape. If you thought who cares about it or that it has already been criminalized and my contribution would not matter, then it is exactly at this point that you are to take a pause. This is because you have a judgement about it. You think that others do not care and this is good reason for you to think that it is unimportant. Or you think there is a law on it and there is no point in

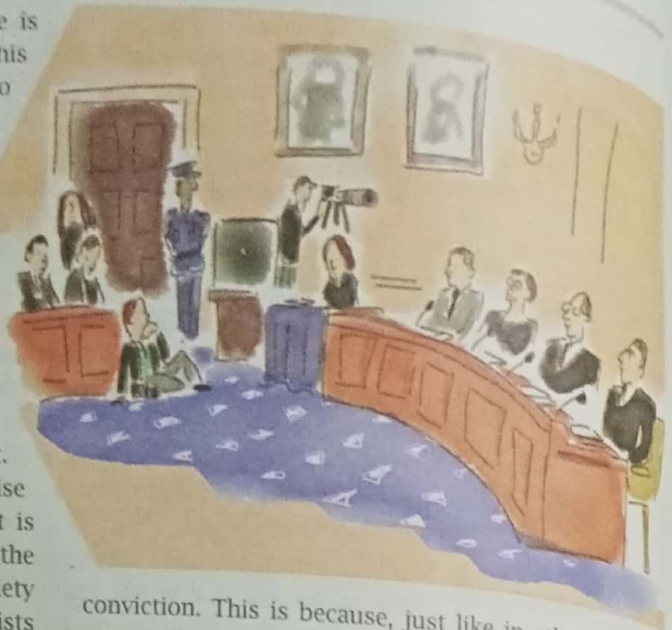
## Profits of Jurisprudence

Analysing the philosophy of law



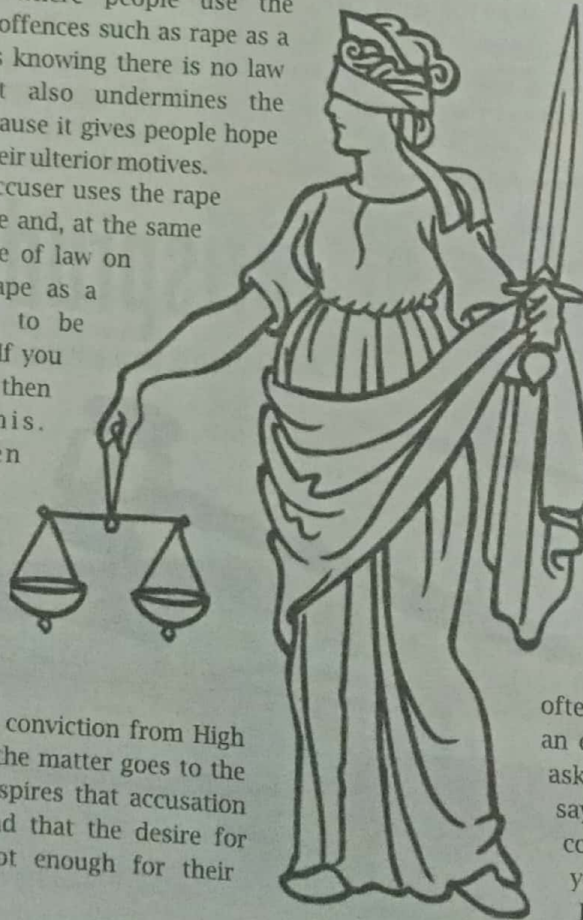


exploring it because what the legislators have done is enough or satisfactory. If this is so, it is exactly at this juncture that jurisprudence as a legal skill comes in to help you identify, accept and eliminate your disinterest. You will ask yourself if it is a good idea not to investigate an area because majority do not see merit in it. You will then ask yourself if it is fair to presume that legislators have made an infallible law. Finally, you will ask how this mind-set of yours can be changed. This may require you to sit down and convince yourself that living a presumptuous and other-driven life is not a good idea. This may take a few days or weeks before you decide to think about the matter and research it. After thinking about it, you might suggest that false allegation of rape should be criminalized because it is detrimental to the accused and the moral fabric of the society. The accused is deprived of his repute in society because people have insensitive attitude towards rapists even if they are alleged ones and tomorrow they turn out to be innocent. The society is morally weakened because people have a new and easy way of avenging their opponents with a charge of rape. This way of settling scores is counterproductive because it lessens the chances of resolving disputes through peaceful means such as communication or arbitration or reconciliation. The society needs co-existence of people and this is difficult to achieve where people use the accusation of serious offences such as rape as a wheel to get at others knowing there is no law sanctioning them. It also undermines the importance of law because it gives people hope to use law to achieve their ulterior motives. From one angle, the accuser uses the rape law to punish someone and, at the same time, uses the absence of law on false accusation of rape as a protective shield not to be punished themselves. If you remain unconvinced, then try imagining this. Someone has been accused of blaspheming the Prophet (PBUH) and because of the sensitivity of the matter and people's impaired judgement this alone gets his/her conviction from High Court. However, when the matter goes to the Supreme Court, it transpires that accusation did not prove guilt and that the desire for conviction alone is not enough for their



conviction. This is because, just like in other cases, the prosecution is under the duty to prove beyond reasonable doubt that the accused had in fact and in law committed blasphemy which in the present case was not satisfied because of uncorroborated narratives of witnesses. The aim of this example is not to credit or discredit the decision of the apex court but to draw attention to the possibility of judgement impairment resulting from cultural or religious factors which are not obvious at first sight. Jurisprudence benefits people from falling prey to such calculations.

Others take the consequentialist route (result-based approach). They argue that its merit is to be determined from the results it produces. Thus, if it helps people set their moral compass, that is make morally difficult choices then it is beneficial. This is pretty profitable as life has many moral grey areas, usually known as moral dilemmas, where it is not clear what the right way of doing things is and one needs guidance on them. There are two ways in which jurisprudence offers help. First is the golden rule of Immanuel Kant that there are no exceptions to the general rule, often known as the categorical imperative. The second is the golden rule of Jeremy Bentham that there are reasonable exceptions to the general rule, often known as the utilitarian calculus. Taking an example will bring this home. So, start by asking if you think lying is a wrong. You might say it is pretty obvious that it is dishonest conduct. But, hang on a minute and ask yourself again, if lying could ever be justified. It is here that theories of Kant and Bentham





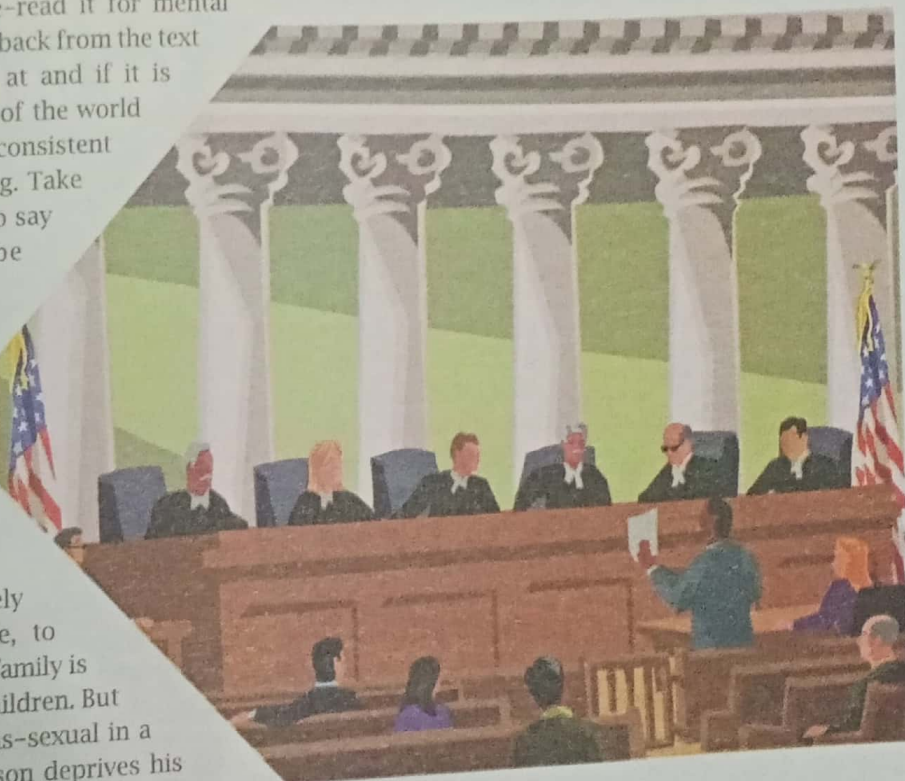
side in. Kant is of the view that lying is always a wrong and that it can never be justified. Bentham, on the contrary, is of the view that it can be justified for greater good. Such is the case when one lies to save life of another. Thus, if the general rule of speaking the truth is breached to save humanity, its violation is justified. In this way, there is solution for the confused. They can lie to save a life and feel free of guilt. So, the best way to tackle morally difficult situations is to craft reasonable exceptions to the general rule.

Another view is that it deepens understanding (depth-based approach). This is difficult to believe as many of the original texts in jurisprudence are complex ramblings. Even the abridged versions are like thousand-page long. But it is feasible. The first step is to read the text for mental warm-up. The second step is to re-read it for mental engagement. The third step is to step back from the text and see what the writer is getting at and if it is agreeable or feasible in the realities of the world you live in. The end product of this consistent effort would be better understanding. Take this crude example. It is one thing to say that trans-sexuality should be criminalized because it is disgusting. It is quite another that it should be criminalized because it has detrimental effects on family structures. The former is a mere opinion and jurisprudence does not teach opinions. And the latter is an argument and jurisprudence definitely sharpens argumentation. Therefore, to draw an argument, one might say a family is a unit of security for spouses and children. But when a spouse decides to be a trans-sexual in a marriage with children, such a person deprives his spouse and children from feeling safe. The spouse is unsafe because she has to put up with the new identity and orient her emotional desires accordingly. And if she did not, she is left with painful choices: either to end the relationship or face escapism from her partner in which case the burden of running the family is left to the left-behind spouse alone. The children are unsafe because they may be minors, unable to appreciate the new choice. As a result, they may feel distant from their transsexual parent. In this way, through jurisprudence, one learns the art of argumentation.

Despite its worthy profits, it has regrettably been noted that people think of it as theoretical discipline. Part of the blame is on the authors who have projected it as a package of theories and remaining damage is done by the mind-set to lean it overnight. To avoid continuation of this growing

ham, it is suggested that a questions-based approach to the subject is taken. This would mean taking it as a package of questions, answers to which are cascaded into theories. This will make debates of natural law, legal positivism, marxism, feminism, liberalism, utilitarianism and authoritarianism a set of questions with varied answers. These may be plausible or implausible to the modern reader but they are all worth studying for appreciation of human involvement in progression.

On this account, natural law theory — shorthand for overlapping thesis — becomes a response to set of questions taken up St. Thomas Aquinas, John Finnis and Lon Fuller. It becomes a search for the nature of morality, truisms of human nature, attributes of unjust law and citizens' allegiance to such law. Legal positivism of Thomas



Hobbes and John Austin — shorthand for separation thesis — becomes quest for the basis of governance and framing of duty-based governance. Marxism of Karl Marx and Fredreich Engels becomes study of human societies and how they could be improved. Feminism of Mary Wollstonecraft and Catherine Mackinnon becomes a project of making law objective. Liberalism of John Stuart Mill becomes asking when government could regulate freedoms. This way of going about jurisprudence will rekindle interest in its study and make people see its hidden benefits. ■

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Muhammad Atif Sheikh

**O**live tree has unique importance from botanical, economic, medical and religious viewpoints. From botanical perspective, it can be successfully cultivated in mountainous, rainfed and irrigable areas. From economic aspect, it is a source of hefty incomes as precious olive oil is extracted from its fruit. Medically, it has many such properties that make this oil a cure for many diseases. From religious viewpoint, it has been mentioned in divine books. In all, olive is a multifariously beneficial tree having undeniable importance. Commercial cultivation of oil started in Pakistan in the year 2000, about 20 years ago. What is the present condition of olive cultivation in Pakistan? To know the answer to this question, this scribe contacted Dr Muhammad Tariq, National Project Director (Olive-PSDP) at Pakistan Agricultural Research Council (PARC) who said: "At present, olive is being cultivated on an area of over 25,000 acres. Another 5,000 acres have been added to this area during the ongoing year, and we expect to grow this crop on around 37,000 acres within a few years from now. In order to meet the growing demand of olive in Pakistan, we need to plant around 0.2 million olive trees annually."

Then, how can it be done?

Responding to this question, Dr Tariq says, "Keeping in view the surveys on climatic conditions of different areas across the country, we import high-quality plants of various olive varieties from Italy, Spain, Turkey and other countries. In the past fiscal year alone, we imported as much as 675,000 plants. These are being grown in accordance with the principles of grafting, budding and other methods. At present, there are more than 15 registered nurseries that are providing high-quality plants to farmers. In Balochistan, some public sector nurseries are also providing their services in Quetta, Khuzdar, Loralai and Panjgur. Moreover, there are private sector nurseries in Potohar and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. It is very heartening that private sector is increasingly getting attracted towards this domain. Moreover, the registration of many nurseries with FSC & RD is still under process." According to Dr Tariq, olive is best suited to areas where agricultural productivity is low or they have less water available for irrigation purposes. Further, on the one hand, it needs far less investment than other regular crops do, whereas it yields much higher profits, on the other. It is because olive plant is less prone to pest attacks and plant diseases as compared to other fruit-bearing plants. However, it is to be noted here that it is very important to keep olive plant healthy as it can start bearing fruit within three to five years and if pruned and looked after properly, it continues doing so for more than a century. Commenting on olive plantation in Sindh and Balochistan, Dr Tariq said, "Although there have been no trial breeding of olive in Sindh, it is now being done in various parts of the province. And, in order to encourage the cultivation of olives on lands that are barren or yield minimal agricultural produce, most plants are distributed within Balochistan."



## An Investment that Bears Fruit for Centuries







With regard to the targets set for olive cultivation in Pakistan, Dr Tariq said, "In Pakistan, an area of around 4 million acres is suitable for olive cultivation. We have set a target of planting trees on 50,000 acres under the National Olive Programme and this target will be achieved soon." Regarding the production of olive oil in the country, he said, "Although olive oil production is still in its infancy in Pakistan, we are working at farmer level to transform this sector along scientific lines. We expect that within a few years from now, we will be able to bring the import of olive oil to zero and even to export the oil to other countries. At present, we have only 19 machines to extract olive oil - out of them, nine have been installed under the Project of Olive Promotion. Three units of these - installed at Attock, Quetta and Loralai - have a capacity to extract 600 kgs of oil per hour while six others - at Islamabad, Chakwal, Dir Lower, Shinkiari, Zhob and Barkhan - can do so at 100 kgs per hour. Oil-pressing facilities are also present in Quetta, Peshawar, Dera Ismail Khan, Chakwal, Pirsabaq, Sangbhatti and Swat. In the private sector also, there are three units that can extract 200 kgs of oil per hour. Recently, an agreement has been signed between Faisalabad Chamber of Commerce and industry and Balochistan University of Engineering and Technology for reverse engineering of such units."

As regards the quality and international marketing of olive oil produced in Pakistan, Dr Tariq commented that after a detailed chemical and organoliptical analysis, the oil produced in Pakistan has been found of high quality. However, since it is still insufficient to meet the indigenous demand, "we are not in a position to export it. However, as soon as its production is increased, we will be able to export it. For that purpose, we have suggested a brand name Pakolive that private sector will be able to register with the concerned authorities. Moreover, we will also establish a quality-checking laboratory." He further stated that efforts were being made to include olive tree in the government's 'Billion Tree Tsunami' project so as to further reinforce this sector. Answering a question on reaping commercial benefits from the wild olive found in Pakistan, Dr Tariq said, "Wild olive is indeed a huge asset for Pakistan. A project for grafting this variety was started in Pakistan, but it could not proceed

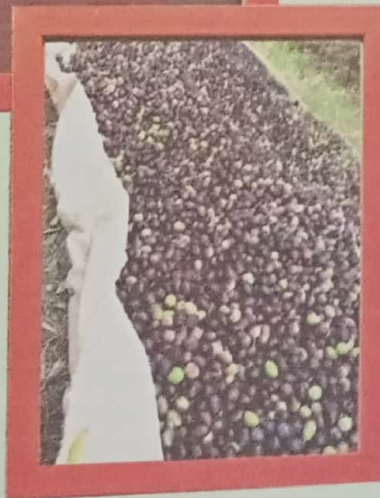
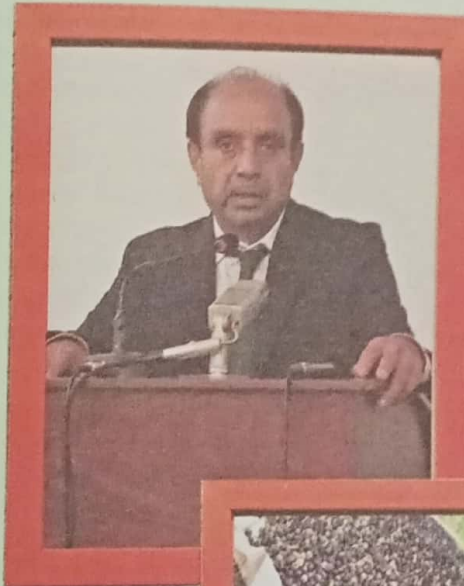
owing to some inevitable reasons. The foremost among them was the fact that most wild olive trees are found on mountains or in areas with no known owner due to which no one accepted the responsibility of grafting. However, keeping in view social and scientific consideration, I believe, this project can still be implemented."

On the issue of agricultural policy regarding oil cultivation in the country, Dr Tariq said, "Commercial production of olives in Pakistan was started in the year 2000. So, this project is still in an early stage due to which no robust policy has been announced yet. I think with the establishment of Pakistan Olive Council, this will be done soon."

Giving his expert opinion on the promotion of olive production in Pakistan, Dr Tariq suggested that an educational and awareness campaign should be started in areas having olive-friendly climatic conditions whereby people should be given detailed information through audio-visual means from plantation to pruning of olive trees. Laboratories and research centres on modern lines should also be established. Moreover, we need to gather consolidated statistical data so that on the basis of it, we may develop a value chain in the near future.

Olive plant can be grown on almost all types of soil. Besides, plains, it is being successfully grown in mountainous or hilly areas. A considerable amount of wild olive production in Pakistan evidences the fact that various parts of the country are fit for olive cultivation. One such area is Koh-i-Sulaiman range in Balochistan and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. As per an estimate there are around one million wild olive trees in this region. These are found mostly in areas where people are

dependent on livestock for their daily bread. Although this region is located in monsoon range, yet it receives less rains. Owing to less rains, a shortage of grass and other herbaceous plants happens in and after November. So, people cut olive trees to fodder their animals. Since olive is an evergreen tree, it does not abscise in winters. Moreover, wood of olive tree is harder and less prone to attack of pests, and due to this quality people use it to build their huts, handles of their tools, as well as a fuel. The shepherds who go to mountains to graze their animals use olive wood to burn and keep themselves







warm. This fire can, sometimes, spread, causing harm to olive trees in that area. So, there is a pressing need to preserve and conserve natural olive forests.

According to a research paper 'Scope of Olive Cultivation in Pakistan', "[I]f wild olive trees present in different provinces of Pakistan are grafted and converted into the productive ones, there is a potential of earning a maximum of one billion dollars annually. Similarly, we may earn a maximum of 9 billion dollars annually if olive cultivation is made on cultivable potential waste lands."

Although there are a few olive farms in Pakistan at present, their number is increasing every year. Mr Ahmad Khan Buzdar, a resident of Burg Pusht in Musa Khel district of Balochistan, is in the business of olive cultivation since 2010. He started off with 500 trees and today he has around 2000 trees on his lands. He has a unique distinction of extracting 28.5% oil from the olives he had cultivated — 28.5 kgs of oil from 100 kg olives is still the best ratio in Pakistan. He began this journey in 2010 with a hope that with abundance of wild olives, their cultivation will boost his income. He says, "In 2014, I extracted 60 litres of oil from pressing of the olives cultivated in my land.

This year, I had been successful in getting 2000 litres of olive oil from the crop grown on 17 acres of land, and that too without any use of pesticides or fertilizers. So, I think, a farmer can not have such returns in any other crop." Mr Buzdar further says that since olive tree does not require much water, it can be planted in areas having lower availability of water for irrigation. Owing to its sustainability, olive is a preferred crop for the farmers from mountainous areas of the country, especially Balochistan. It is an investment that will keep bearing dividends for centuries. An example of this is a 50-foot-tall tree in our village Pusht Burg which is said to be more than 1800 years old, but it still bears fruit.

Enumerating the difficulties faced by farmer in this regard, Mr Buzdar opines that this sector lacks trained workforce. Moreover, the number of nurseries in this region is also too little to meet the local demand. Lack of easy availability of oil-extraction machines, and other value-addition facilities is yet another problem. He laments that there is no olive market in Balochistan.

Stressing the need for immediate steps by the government to promote olive cultivation in Pakistan, he suggested that there was an urgent need to develop live markets at national level, ensure presence of more and more nurseries, train our farmer along international standards, conducting research and experiments to ascertain as to which varieties are suitable for cultivation in which region. Moreover, there should be a platform where trade of olive fruit and extraction of olive is facilitated.

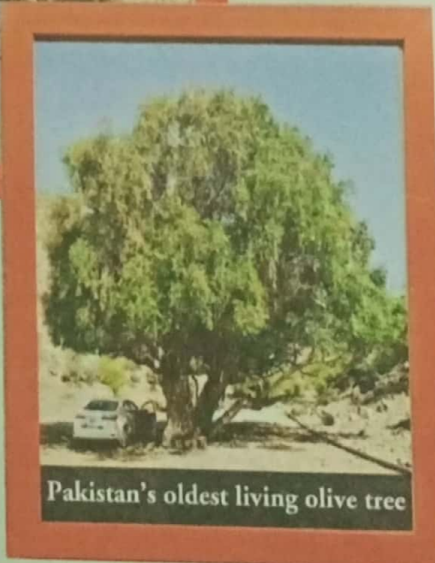
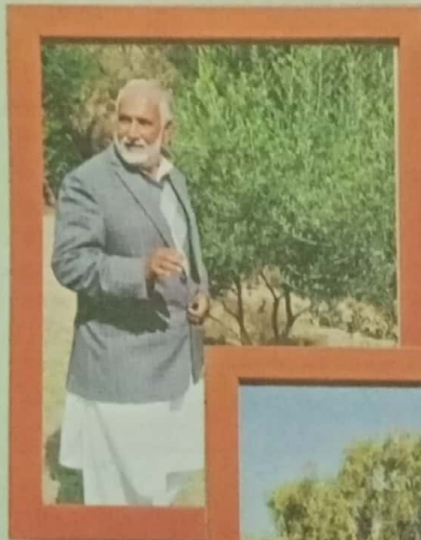
Suggesting that the government should minimize the illegal cutting of wild olive trees and make an apt use of those for financial benefits, Mr Buzdar says that the government should formulate a five-year plan whereby the cutting of will olive trees should be prohibited and local people hired for the conservation of such forests. Moreover, local people should also be trained in grafting techniques to that we may harvest high-quality olives within 4-5 years. Employment opportunities created in this way will definitely help the local economy. He said, "I believe that owing to the utility of olives and the economic benefit, people themselves will

look after these forests."

He further stated that children and shepherds collected around 5000 kgs of wild olives this year alone that they sold in the local market. Some of this lot was sent to a research centre in Islamabad and it yielded 7.9% oil. If all this quantity were used properly, it would have positive impact on the people's income. But, unfortunately, due to limited awareness, a lot of crop got wasted. Moreover, locust attack this year has also adversely impacted the yield.

Cultivation of olives and grafting of wild olive is an investment that will keep earning dividends for centuries to come. So our policymaking authorities need to prioritize this area as it will not only help the country in ensuring food security but will also be a source of revenue generation. They need to be vigilant; otherwise getting benefit from this natural bounty will remain an unfulfilled dream. This is a bitter truth and warrants immediate action. ■

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**Pakistan's oldest living olive tree**



"We are a nation with our own distinctive culture and civilization, language and literature, art and architecture, names and nomenclature, sense of values and proportion, legal laws and moral code, customs and calendar, history and tradition, aptitudes and ambitions; in short, we have our distinctive outlook on life and of life. By all canons of international law, we are a nation."

— Quaid-i-Azam  
Muhammad Ali Jinnah

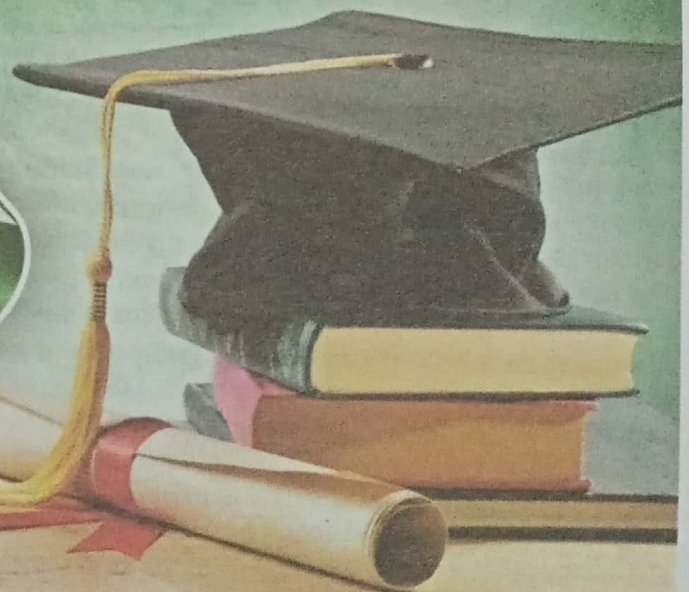
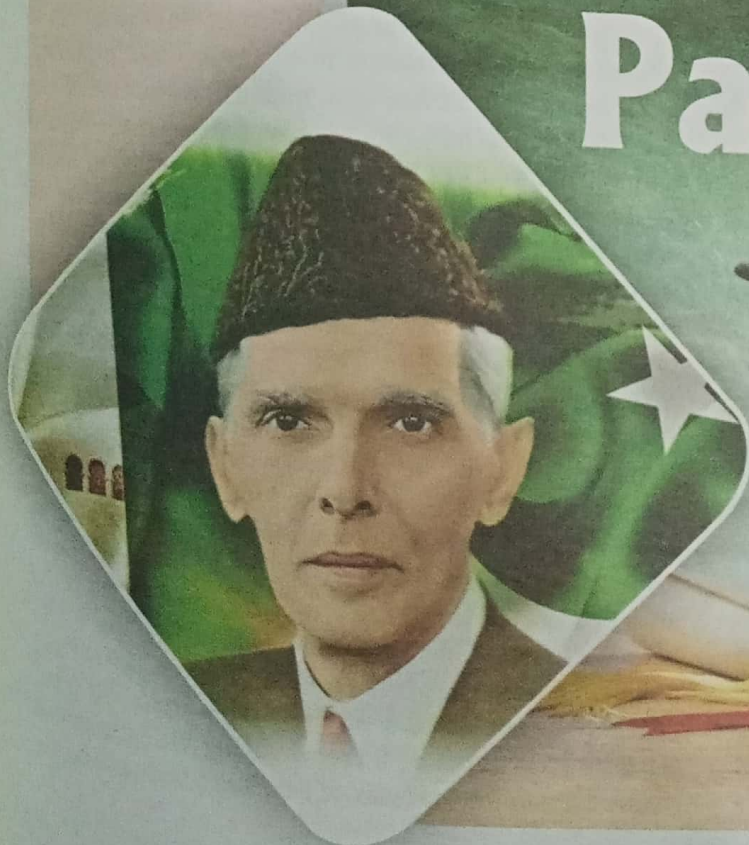


The formulation of the Muslim demand for Pakistan in 1940 had a tremendous impact on the nature and course of Indian politics. On the one hand, it shattered forever the Hindu dreams of a pseudo-Indian—in fact Hindu—empire on British exit from India while it heralded an era of Islamic renaissance and creativity, on the other, in which the Indian Muslims were to be active participants. The Hindu reaction was quick, bitter and malicious. Equally hostile were the British to the Muslim demand; their hostility having stemmed from their belief that the unity of India was their main achievement and their foremost contribution. The irony was that both the Hindus and the British had not anticipated the astonishingly tremendous response that the Pakistan demand had elicited from the Muslim masses. Above all, they failed to realize how a hundred million people had suddenly become supremely conscious of their distinct nationhood and their high destiny. In channeling the course of Muslim politics towards Pakistan, no less

Hassan Bin Zubair than in directing it towards its consummation in the establishment of Pakistan in 1947, none played a more decisive role than did Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah. It was his powerful advocacy for the case of Pakistan and his remarkable strategy in the delicate negotiations that followed the formulation of the Pakistan demand, particularly in the post-war period, that made the establishment of Pakistan inevitable. The British reaction to the Pakistan demand came in the form of the Cripps Mission offer of April 1942 which conceded the principle of self-determination to provinces on a territorial basis. The Rajaji Formula (named after the Congress leader C. Rajagopalacharia, which became the basis of prolonged Jinnah-Gandhi talks in September 1944), represented the Congress alternative to Pakistan. The Cripps offer was rejected because it did not concede the Muslim demand the whole way, while the Rajaji Formula was found unacceptable since it offered a "moth-eaten, mutilated" Pakistan and

## Quaid's Sublime Vision for

# Pakistan





that too appended with it a plethora of preconditions which made the new country's emergence in any shape remote, if not altogether impossible. Cabinet Mission, the most delicate as well as the most tortuous negotiations, however, took place during 1946-47, after the elections which showed that the country was sharply and somewhat evenly divided between two parties - the Congress and All India Muslim League - and that the central issue in Indian politics was Pakistan.

By the close of 1946, the communal riots had flared up to murderous heights, engulfing almost the entire subcontinent. The two peoples, it seemed, were engaged in a fight to the finish. The time for a peaceful transfer of power was fast running out. Realizing the gravity of the situation, His Majesty's Government sent down to India a new Viceroy, Lord Mountbatten. His protracted negotiations with various political leaders resulted in the 3rd June (1947) Plan by which the British decided to partition the Subcontinent and hand over power to two successor states on 15 August 1947. The plan was duly accepted by the three Indian parties to the dispute, the Congress, the League, and the Akali Dal (representing the Sikhs). Resultantly, Pakistan emerged on the world map on 14 August 1947. In recognition of his singular contribution, Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah was nominated by the Muslim League as the Governor-General of Pakistan, while the Congress appointed Mountbatten as India's first Governor-General. On 15 August 1947, the Quaid-e-Azam was sworn in as the first Governor-General of Pakistan. The oath was administered by the Chief Justice of Lahore High Court, Mian Abdur Rashid, who later became the first Chief Justice of Pakistan. Pakistan, it is truly said, was born in virtual chaos. Indeed, few nations in the world have started on their career with fewer resources and in more treacherous circumstances. The new nation did not inherit a central government, a capital, an administrative core or an organized defence force. The Punjab holocaust had left vast areas in a shambles with communications disrupted. This, along with the mass migration of the Hindu and Sikh business and managerial classes, left the economy almost shattered. The exchequer was empty as India had denied Pakistan its due share in cash balances. On top of this, the still unorganized nation was called upon to feed some eight million refugees who had fled the insecurities and

barbarities of the north Indian plains that long, hot summer. If all this was symptomatic of Pakistan's administrative and economic weakness, the Indian annexation, through military action in November 1947, of Junagadh (which had originally acceded to Pakistan) and the Kashmir war over the State's accession (October 1947-December 1948) exposed her military weakness. In the circumstances, therefore, it was nothing short of a miracle that Pakistan survived at all. That it survived and forged ahead was mainly due to one man—Muhammad Ali Jinnah. The nation desperately needed a charismatic leader at that critical juncture in history, and he fulfilled that need profoundly. After all, he was more than a mere Governor-General: he was the Quaid-i-Azam, who had brought the State into being.

In the ultimate analysis, his very presence at the helm of affairs was responsible for enabling the newly-born state to overcome the terrible crisis on the morrow of its cataclysmic birth. He mustered up the immense prestige and the unquestioning loyalty he commanded among the people to energize them, to raise their morale, to raise the profound feelings of patriotism that the freedom had generated, along constructive channels. Though tired and in poor health, Jinnah yet carried the heaviest part of the burden in that first crucial year. He laid down the policies of the

There are two powers in the world, one is the sword and other is the pen. There is a great competition and rivalry between the two. There is a third power stronger than both, that of the women.

Quaid e Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah

new state, called attention to the immediate problems confronting the nation, and told the members of the Constituent Assembly, the civil servants and the Armed Forces what to do and what the nation expected of them. He saw to it that law and order were maintained at all costs, despite the provocation that the large-scale riots in north India had provided. He moved from Karachi to Lahore for a while and supervised the immediate refugee problem in Punjab. In a time of fierce excitement, he remained sober, cool and steady. He advised his excited audience in Lahore to concentrate on helping the refugees, to avoid retaliation, exercise restraint and protect the minorities. He assured the minorities of a fair deal, assuaged their inured sentiments and gave them hope and comfort. He toured the various provinces, attended to their particular problems, and instilled in the people a sense of belongingness. He reversed the British policy in the North-West Frontier Province (NWFP) and ordered the withdrawal of the troops from the tribal territory of Waziristan, thereby making the Pathans feel themselves an integral part of Pakistan's body politic. He



created a new Ministry of States and Frontier Regions and assumed responsibility for ushering in a new era in Balochistan. He settled the controversial question of the states of Karachi, secured the accession of States, especially of Kalat which seemed problematic, and carried on negotiations with Lord Mountbatten for the settlement of the Kashmir Issue.

Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah believed in the power of purposeful education. He was convinced that education was the only effective means to liberate the masses and link them into a strong nation and also to bring about social, political and economic development in the country. The Quaid attached great importance to education. He was aware that under the political subjugation and servitude of the British, the character of the Muslims as a nation had been destroyed. They had lost respect for piety, for character, for knowledge or even for wealth, and were taught to respect nothing but power.

A nation with a slavish mentality naturally respects power. Quaid-i-Azam believed that education was the birthright of every child and that it was the duty of the State to provide for universal elementary education for its citizens. In an illiterate society, it must be enforced compulsorily, because elementary education cannot become universal without compulsion. To do the duty, the State must find the funds required, and tax the people, if necessary. Masses can only be liberated through a planned program of compulsory universal elementary education. Quaid said, "There is no salvation for the masses unless the principle of compulsion is introduced in this country. In no country has elementary education become universal without compulsion."

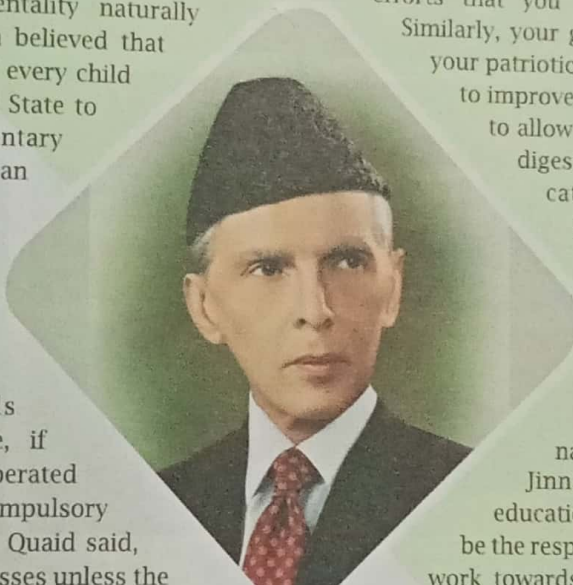
Quaid-i-Azam assumed that education was the key factor in safeguarding national independence and moulding the character of a people. The system of education must be truly national to meet the needs and aspirations of the people. In national education lies the only sure and permanent guarantee of national defence and national strength. No country can have an ignorant population and be free and strong at the same time. The economic development and cultural advancement depend directly on the type of instructional programmes at different levels. The quality of the process of educating the younger generation will depend upon the quality of the teacher and the work - the way he works with the learners and brings them up as informed and skilled individuals and as a community of responsible citizens ready to enter the

world of work. Addressing the students of Islamia College, Peshawar, on 12th April 1948, the Quaid-i-Azam called for a changed approach, on the part of the students, to political, social and economic problems facing Pakistan. In contrast with the methods of approach they adopted during their struggle for independence, "The duties required for you now," he said, "are to develop a sound sense of discipline, character, initiative and a solid academic background." Advising the students to be constructive in their criticism of the government, the Quaid observed, "Government welcomes constructive criticism. You can make a big contribution towards bringing about harmony and unity were for personal and other selfish considerations some people may adopt courses which are likely to lead to disruption and disunity. Remember that your government is like your own garden. Your garden flourishes by the way you look after it and the efforts that you put towards its improvement.

Similarly, your government can only flourish by your patriotic, honest, and constructive efforts to improve it." He wanted the students, "not to allow your actions to be guided by ill-digested information or slogans and catchwords. Remember we are building up a state which is going to play its full part in the destinies of the whole Islamic world. We must develop a sense of patriotism which should galvanize and weld us all into one united strong nation."

Jinnah had high hopes for the educational sector in Pakistan. It should be the responsibility of Pakistani students to work towards Jinnah's educational vision for Pakistan. First and foremost, this means appreciating the opportunity that they have to attain an education. Secondly, it means making the most of their education by striving to gain more knowledge, to achieve academic excellence and to use their education for the development and prosperity of the nation. Thirdly, students must play a role in promoting education for all children in the country. In Pakistan, there are unfortunately still many children who are unable to acquire education, for various reasons. As Pakistani citizens and students, it is our responsibility to advocate for education for every single member of the nation. So, on this Quaid-i-Azam Day, remember the wise words of Muhammad Ali Jinnah regarding education, and do your part to promote educational excellence in Pakistan. ■

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The discipline of criminology has established itself in the developed world, and is now emerging as a field of immense interest in the developing and transitional nations. We are now seeing not only academic institutions and justice agencies, but also many professional societies of criminology engaging in the promotion of criminological knowledge and research around the globe. Pakistan, though lagging a bit behind, has joined the rank of such countries by introducing criminology as an integral part of academic curricula in the law-enforcement training institutes. It has also been included as an optional subject of 100 marks in syllabus for CSS. The following article is aimed at presenting some basic concepts of criminology for aspirants of competitive exams as well as the general readers.

# CRIMINOLOGY

Zafrullah Saroya

**C**riminology is a branch of sociology, which traditionally examines human behaviour, interaction and organization. It is the interdisciplinary study of crime as both an individual and a social phenomenon, with research on the origins and forms of crime, its causes and consequences, and social and governmental reactions to it. In a broader sense, it is the study of crime from a social perspective, including examining who commits crimes, why they commit them, their impact and how to prevent them. Since its emergence in the late 1800s as part of a movement for prison reform, criminology has evolved into a multi-disciplinary effort to identify the root causes of crime and develop effective methods for preventing it, punishing its perpetrators and mitigating its effect on victims.

## Definition

The term "criminology" has been defined by almost every author who has written a text in the field in his own way. The variegated content of criminology, as conceived by Lombroso, Ferri, Garofalo, Aschaffenburg, and other pioneers, has permitted the use of this term for the many subdivisions of the field. Textbooks generally refer to a mixture of data on science, law, public administration, and morality, and the commonplace dichotomy of "criminology" and "penology" has been with us at least since the days of Parmelee. In 1934, noted American criminologist Edwin Sutherland defined criminology in the following words:

"Criminology is the body of knowledge regarding crime as a social phenomenon. It includes within its scope the processes of making laws, of breaking laws and of reacting toward the breaking of laws. ... The objective of criminology is the development of a body of general and verified principles and of other types of knowledge regarding this process of law, crime, and treatment."

Howard Jones supplies a fairly complete and simple definition of criminology: "The science that studies the social phenomenon of crime, its causes and the measures which society directs against it."

This definition makes a distinction between two parts:

1. This is further divided into two segments:

a. A description of criminology and its context, i.e. the descriptive or phenomenological, phase in which the facts are determined such as they are;

b. the causes, backgrounds, explanations and correlations found by criminal etiology. Criminal etiology (science of causes) finds causes in:

- man (criminal biology, psychology and psychiatry),
- the human environment (notably psychology),
- society (criminal sociology);

2. The reactions of society to crime. These are influenced and, if possible, coordinated by criminal policy.

## History

As a field of study, criminology has a long, rich history and has changed a lot over the years. It began in Europe during the late 1700s when concerns arose over the cruelty, unfairness and inefficiency of the prison and criminal court system. Highlighting this early so-called



classical school of criminology, several humanitarians such as Italian jurist Cesare Beccaria and British lawyer Sir Samuel Romilly sought to reform the legal and correctional systems rather than the causes of the crime itself. Their primary goals were to reduce the use of capital punishment, humanize prisons and compel judges to follow the principles of due process of law. In the early 1800s, the first annual statistical reports on crime were published in France. Among the first to analyze these statistics, Belgian mathematician and sociologist Adolphe Quetelet discovered certain repeating patterns in them. These patterns included items such as the types of crimes committed, the number of people

that the criminal justice system drastically needed to be modernized and improved. At that time, criminal justice included painful torture such as stretching, crushing and stabbing of the accused bodies. The classical school aimed to improve the system partly by limiting or eliminating the torture. It marked the beginning of great progress for the criminal justice system.

## 2. Neo-classical

The Neo-classical school of thought followed the classic school and brought with it a few revisions. For one, this way of thinking suggests that people can be led by behaviour, which can be irrational. It also suggests that the world is imperfect and, therefore, there will always be

mistakes. Self-defence is included in the neo-classical school of thought too. Famous neo-classical criminologists include Raymond Saleilles, author of 'The Individualization of Punishment and his teacher Gabriel Tarde'.

**CRIME SCENE DO NOT CROSS**

accused of crimes, how many of them were convicted, and the distribution of criminal offenders by age and gender. From his studies, Quetelet concluded that "there must be an order to those things which ... are reproduced with astonishing constancy, and always in the same way." Quetelet would later argue that societal factors were the root cause of criminal behaviour.

### Subgroups

Just as it is a sub-group of sociology, criminology itself has several sub-groups, including:

1. **Penology:** the study of prisons and prison systems
2. **Biocriminology:** the study of the biological basis of criminal behaviour
3. **Feminist criminology:** the study of women and crime
4. **Criminalistics:** the study of crime detection

### Schools of thought

#### 1. Classical

Classical school of criminology founders were theorists on crime and punishment development. These people include writers like Cesare Beccaria and Jeremy Bentham. Although torture was taking place all over the European continent, especially for confessions and testimonies, classical school believed torture to be wrong. According to the classic school of thought, crimes are committed through free will. People know what they are doing and should be punished. Those consequences should be strong enough to deter other people from the crime and should be harsher than the criminal gain. They did explain

**"Society secretly wants crime, needs crime, and gains definite satisfactions from the present mishandling of it! We condemn crime; we punish offenders for it; but we need it. The crime and punishment ritual is part of our lives!"**

—Karl Menninger

## 3. Positivist

Determinism is the belief that all actions are pre-established in time and that free will is only an illusion. It, along with the requirement of scientific evidence for criminal conviction, falls under the positivist school of thought. Positivists believe that all people are different, both intellectually and physically. Punishment within the positivist school of thought would not be determined by crime, rather by person. Also, correction, treatment and rehabilitation are theoretically possible

within all criminals and those that cannot be fixed should be killed. Lombroso is credited with being the father of criminology and a positivist.

## 4. Chicago

In the 1920s, Robert E. Park and Ernest Burgess presented their Chicago school of thought through the University of Chicago. The study related criminology to sociology and provided research on concentric zones, or zones in transition where people tend to be more criminally active than others. Through the addition of Henry McKay and Clifford Shaw's research specifically on juvenile delinquents, a new social ecology study was developed. The Chicago school of thought determined that crimes tend to be taught by older criminals whom people may be associated with, either personally or professionally.

## Contemporary criminology

Contemporary criminology includes a similar hedonistic theory that people can deter emotions and actions



according to incentive manipulation. Thus, criminology today includes categorizing criminal's motives

whether they are instrumental or expressive. Instrumental motivation means the person has more incentive, outside the act itself, for committing a crime. There is a tangible benefit. For example, contract killers have the added incentive of money. Gang members may commit crimes for the initiation incentive. When there are obvious signs of instrumental motivation, there are generally harsher punishments for crimes as there is proof behind premeditation. Expressive motivation is different than instrumental as it includes acts done out of emotion. The crime itself is the desired result. Common feelings for expressive motivation crimes include anger or rage, fear, jealousy and passion. They are frequently committed in the heat of the moment as a means of overpowering the source of the criminal's frustration.

#### Criminology

Focuses on the study of crime  
Involves a significant amount of research and analysis  
Develops theories

#### Criminal Justice

Focuses on the systems that address crime  
Involves a smaller amount of research and analysis  
Puts theories into practice

systems. From the case development to long after the verdict, criminologists are responsible for understanding why criminals do what they do. Through this information people will be safer, better understood and justly punished for crimes. The ultimate motive behind criminology though, is the prevention of crime.

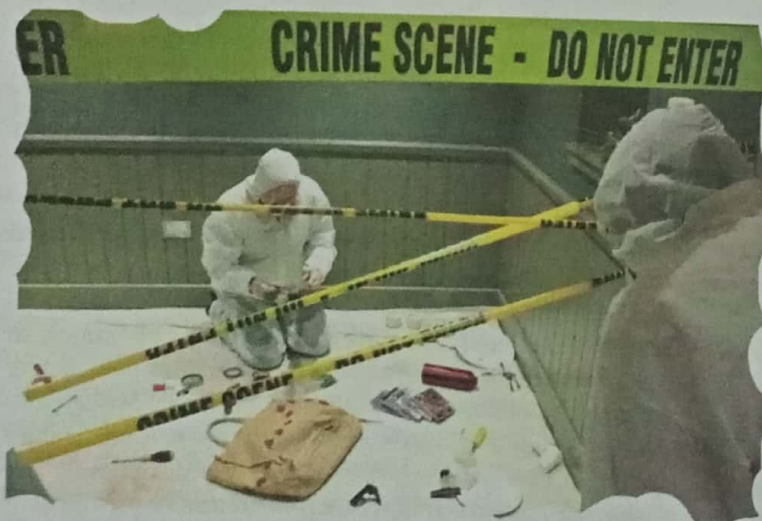
#### How it works?

In essence, criminologists examine every conceivable aspect of deviant behaviour. That includes the impacts of crime on individual victims and their families, society at large, and even criminals themselves. Some of the specific areas that criminology covers include:

- Frequency of crimes
- Location of crimes
- Causes of crimes
- Types of crimes

#### Political Criminology

Political criminology is similar to the other camps in this area. It involves study into the forces that determine how, why, and with what consequences societies choose to address criminals and crime in general. Those who are involved with political criminology focus on the causes of crime, the nature of crime, the social and political meanings that attach to crime, and crime-control policies, including the study of the bases upon which crime and punishment is committed and the choices made by the principals in criminal justice. Although the theories of political criminology and conflict criminology overlap to some extent, political criminologists deny that the terms are interchangeable. The primary focus points in the new movement of political criminology similarly overlap with other theories, including the concerns and ramifications of street crime and the distribution of power in crime-control strategies. This movement has largely been a loose, academic effort.



Criminology combines social action data with criminal activity to understand motive and determine appropriate consequences. As such, criminology is necessary for the proper development and execution of criminal justice

Social and individual consequences of crimes

- Social reactions to crime
- Individual reactions to crime
- Governmental reactions to crime

Criminologists conduct research and analyze data to help understand, deter and prevent crime. They also develop theories based on the research they conduct to help translate data into action. Some criminologists also evaluate, develop and implement criminal justice policies and procedures.

#### Criminology vs. Criminal Justice

Criminal justice and criminology are certainly related fields, but they are not identical. Criminal justice focuses on the application of systems that address crime. That includes law-enforcement, the judicial system, and the corrections and prison systems. Criminology involves more research, while criminal justice requires more real-world application. ■

*The writer is an Advocate High Court.*



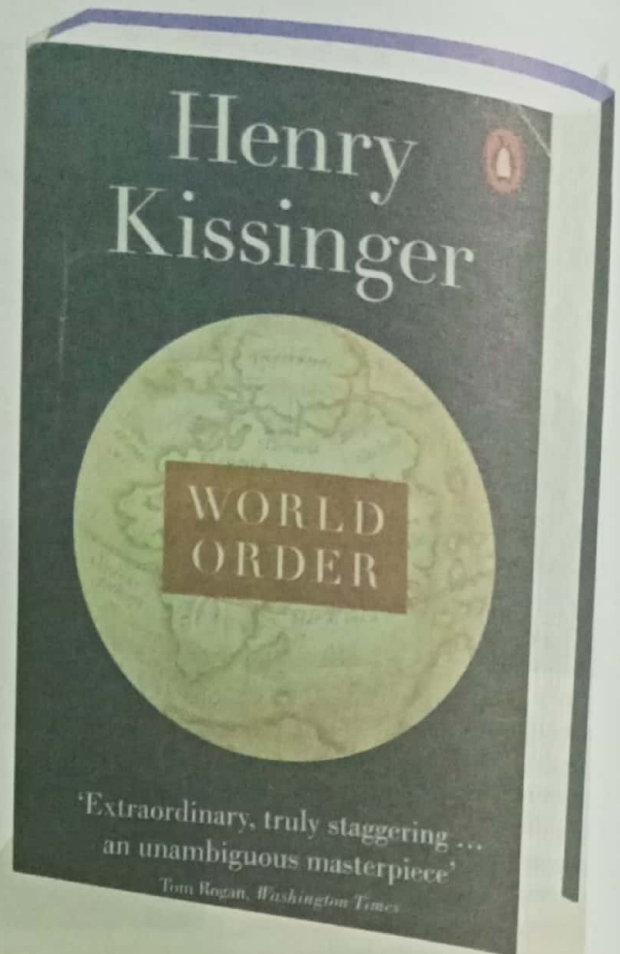
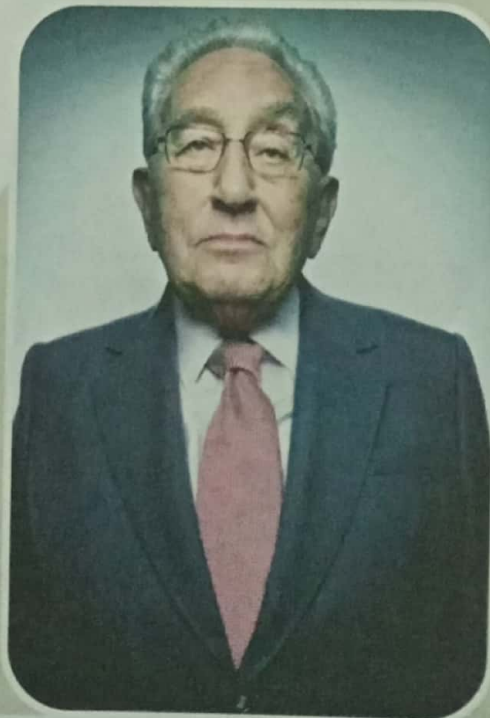
# World Order by Henry Kissinger

Reviewed by: Mirza Kamal

**W**hen you think about modern diplomacy, the first name that comes to mind is that of Henry Kissinger. One of history's most influential diplomats and intellectuals, Kissinger takes us on a journey through history centred upon questions of world order, their evolution, weaknesses and overthrow over the past 2000 years.

Starting off with defining the very concept of world order, Kissinger explicates it as a combination and interplay of legitimacy and the balance of power. The Thirty Years' war in Central Europe (1618–1648) shattered the legitimacy of the universality that was sought by Holy Roman Empire in consolidating its hold over Central Europe. Emerging from the ashes were the concepts of internal and external sovereignty, establishing a pluralistic order among European states enforced by the balance of power among them. Known as the Westphalian model of international relations, it would go on to dominate the discourse on world order across the globe within the course of the next few centuries. The emergent order, after being shattered by the Napoleonic wars, was reinforced through prudent statecraft as exemplified by the Congress of Vienna (1815) which prevented an all-out war of European powers on the continent for almost two centuries. Subsequently, it was statecraft that caused its evolution.

Adding to that, other forms of world order are also brought under the microscope; interactions between these various ideas have shaped global



power relations and structures over the course of modern history. The US, since emerging on the scene as a great power, and later the world's first superpower, has perused its national interest under the guise of its own notion of what world order should encompass, resulting in a highly ambivalent attitude towards the question of world order itself, seeking legitimacy through infusing liberal democratic values with controversial interventionist policies. China, more of a civilization rather than a nation for much of its history, after playing by the rules of world order, first of the European colonial powers and then later under US hegemony, now seeks to establish new rules of the game. Possibly the most intriguing part of the book centres on Iran. Kissinger notes that as Nixon's break with past US presidents on the policy towards China via



establishing diplomatic ties and welcoming it to the, "family of nations," was instrumental in shaping the global structure of international relations during the Cold War, the same is possible in the case of Iran and its relationship with the West as well as with China and Russia. Applying Kissinger's ideas to the prevalent scenario, there is little sign of the regime tumbling in Iran, given opportunities presented by growing ties with China, hence, warranting attention for Kissinger's pragmatism. That being said, however, the book is not without its flaws. Kissinger seems to diverge far from his usual pragmatism while enshrining the ideas and practices of past US



Adding to the above, Kissinger's biases are even more evident and misplaced in the context of the Middle East; while the warming of Egypt and Jordan towards Israel is lauded with much praise on Kissinger's behalf, there is practically no mention of the implications of Israel's settler campaigns aimed at destroying even the most remote possibility of a two-state solution.

Nonetheless, most of Kissinger's analyses are, indeed, both insightful and pragmatic. His writings on nuclear weapons and the growing complexity of the calculus of deterrence are definitely eye-openers and warrant mobilization of thought and political acumen. The same

#### Quotes from the Book

"Asia has emerged as among the Westphalian system's most significant legacies: historic, and often historically antagonistic, peoples are organizing themselves as sovereign states and their states as regional groupings. In Asia, far more than in Europe, not to speak of the Middle East, the maxims of the Westphalian model of international order find their contemporary expression—including doctrines since questioned by many in the West as excessively focused on the national interest or insufficiently protective of human rights."

"Of all conceptions of world order in Asia, China operated the longest-lasting, the most clearly defined, and the one furthest from Westphalian ideas. China has also taken the most complex journey, from ancient civilization through classical empire, to Communist revolution, to modern great-power status—a course which will have a profound impact on mankind."

"Some of China's contemporary leaders suffered grievously during the Cultural Revolution, but they now present that suffering as having given them the strength and self-discovery to steel themselves for the daunting tasks of leading another period of vast transformation."

"Beijing has become much more active on the world scene. With China's emergence as potentially the world's largest economy, its views and support are now sought in every international forum. China has participated in many of the prestige aspects of the nineteenth and twentieth-century Western orders: hosting the Olympics; addresses by its presidents before the United Nations; reciprocal visits with heads of state and governments from leading countries around the world. By any standard, China has regained the stature by which it was known in the centuries of its most far-reaching influence. The question now is how it will relate to the contemporary search for world order, particularly in its relations with the United States."

"The Indian and Pakistani nuclear establishments are, in the first instance, directed against each other, affecting the strategic equilibrium in two ways. The risks of escalation may reduce the likelihood of full-scale conventional war on the subcontinent. But because the weapon systems are so vulnerable and technically so difficult to protect against short-range attack, the temptation for preemption is inherent in the technology, especially in situations when emotions are already running high."

presidents and administrations in their attempt to give America a definitive direction in its pursuit of what a legitimate world order might be, ignoring grave injustices committed by these administrations in the post-WWII timeline, such as the murderous campaigns undertaken in Central America via brutal dictators and terrorist groups backed by the US. Kissinger's criticism is directed largely towards those blunders that lie in plain sight and simply cannot be justified; Vietnam, Iraq and Afghanistan, although they all seemed "necessary" in his analyses at their respective times of inception.



can be said of his thoughts on cyber technologies and the ever-increasing significance of hybrid or "ambiguous" forms of warfare. This book is a must-read for future leaders, students of the realist school of thought and IR in general, political science and history as well as anyone who wants to understand the delicate interplay between legitimacy of the rules of an international order and the mechanisms needed to enforce it. ■

*The author is a Lecturer in Mathematics with an interest in political and economic history.*





# WORLD IN FOCUS

## NATIONAL

M. Usman Butt



**Oct. 16:** Punjab Police and the British High Commission agreed to enhance information-sharing and professional cooperation.

**Oct. 16:** Prime Minister Imran Khan (PMIK) inaugurated the N-Ovative Health Technology Facility at the National University of Science and

Technology (NUST), which makes Pakistan second Muslim country in the world to produce heart stents indigenously.

**Oct. 17:** Pakistan ranked 88th out of 107 countries in the 2020 Global Hunger Index. With a score of 24.6, Pakistan has a level of hunger that is categorised as serious. In comparison, Bangladesh ranks 75th with a score of 20.4, falling in the category of serious while Iran ranks 39th with a score of 7.9, having low category. Sri Lanka ranks 64th with a score of 16.3, showing moderate level of hunger while Nepal ranks 73rd with a score of 19.5, having moderate level of hunger. Afghanistan ranks 99th with a score of 30.3, showing a serious level of hunger while India ranked 94th.

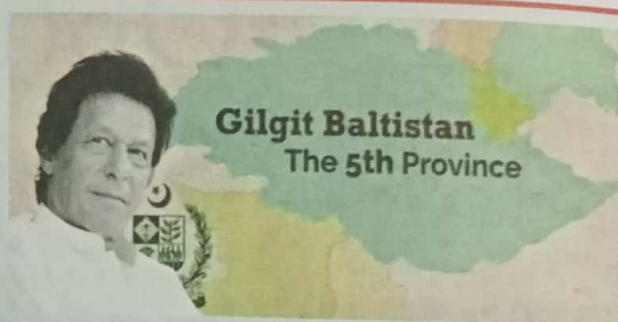
**Oct. 18:** Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP) defeated Southern Punjab to win the National T20 Inter-Provincial Association Trophy.

**Oct. 19:** The Pakistan Telecom Authority (PTA) restored the TikTok services with certain conditions.

**Oct. 19:** The United Kingdom (UK) Chief of Defence Staff (CDS) General Sir Nicholas Patrick Carter called on Chief of the Army Staff (COAS) General Qamar Javed Bajwa

**Oct. 20:** The World Economic Forum nominated Pakistan's Dr Faisal Khan, a pioneering and award-winning biologist based in Peshawar, among 25 of the world experts and leaders as part of the Global Future Council on synthetic biology.

**Oct. 20:** The National Nutrition Survey (NNS) 2018 was released, according to which four in ten under-five children in Pakistan are stunted, nearly two out of ten children under five suffer from wasting, and 13% of the children between 2 and 5 years of age suffer from some form of functional disability.



On November 1, Prime Minister Imran Khan announced a "Provisional Status of the Province" to the scenic northern region of Gilgit-Baltistan, which also serves as Pakistan's gateway to China. The area's local population welcomed PM Imran Khan's promise, which would allow them to have representation in Pakistan's National Assembly, Senate and get development funds from Islamabad. People of GB waited on this excellent news for more than 73 years.

The people of GB have for a very long time struggled to have their own separate province, to be given representation in the parliament of Pakistan and in the civil services as a federating unit. Well short of provincial status, the PPP government granted regional autonomy to GB through the Self-Governance Ordinance in 2009. Since then, the region has functioned like a province but with limited autonomy and without any representation in the elected institutions of the federation. It has a chief minister that is the chief executive of the province, but practically the governor appointed by the federal government and the bureaucracy in Islamabad have controlled the resources and exercised much of the power within GB.

Whereas in Jammu & Kashmir, India abrogated article 370 and annexed it without the will and the wishes of the local people; it is entirely different in case of GB, wherefrom day one people wish to join Pakistan. New Delhi's decision to divide the Muslim-majority region into two federally-governed territories — Jammu and Kashmir, and Ladakh — sparked anger on both sides of the frontier. India's Prime Minister Narendra Modi's government also annulled the region's separate constitution. Indians will now be allowed to buy property in the area. This move from the Indian Government is to change the demographics of the IIOJK. However, that is not the case with GB.



**Oct. 20:** Renowned sports patron Nadeem Omar was elected as new president of Pakistan Scrabble Association (PSA).

**Oct. 20:** Governor SBP Dr Reza Baqir inaugurated the first Polyculture Forest project, envisaging an 'urban forest' on 5,000 square metres of land on the premises of Pakistan Security Printing Corporation, Karachi.

**Oct. 20:** The Supreme Court appointed a high-powered commission to oversee the disbursement and utilisation of funds being deposited by Bahria Town Limited Karachi (BT LK) against the land it had purchased for its housing society in the city.

**Oct. 20:** Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, leader of Hizb-e-Islami of Afghanistan, called on PMIK in Islamabad.

**Oct. 21:** The Arts Council of Pakistan bestowed the Habib Jalib Peace Award 2020 to the late Asma Jahangir for her magnanimous contributions to the cause of human rights in the country.

**Oct. 21:** The Supreme Court directed the accountability courts across the country to ensure hearing of corruption-related cases on daily basis and avoid delay in trials of references filed in cases.

**Oct. 21:** Rear Admiral Naveed Ashraf assumed charge of Commander Pakistan Fleet.

#### (About the Rear Admiral)

Rear Admiral Naveed Ashraf was commissioned in Operations Branch of Pakistan Navy in 1989. He has served on various command and staff appointments. He is a graduate of Navy War College, Lahore, National Defence University, Islamabad, and Naval Staff College, USA. He has also done Royal College of Defence Studies Course from UK. He is a recipient of Hilal-i-Imtiaz (Military) and Tamgha-e-Basalat.

**Oct. 21:** British-Pakistani engineer Nasir Khan was awarded the Most Excellent Order (MBE) on the Queen's Birthday Honours List 2020 due to his services for the Muslim, Black and Ethnic Minority (BAME) communities in the UK.

**Oct. 21:** Noted naat khwaan Mehboob Ahmed Hamdani passed away. He was 72.

**Oct. 22:** Pakistan Ulema Council (PUC) chairman Hafiz Tahir Mehmood Ashrafi was appointed Special Representative of the Prime Minister on Religious Harmony and the Middle East.

**Oct. 22:** Former Punjab governor Lt-Gen (retd) Raja Saroop Khan passed away. He was 88.

#### (About Raja Saroop)

Raja Saroop was commissioned in the 7th PMA Long Course from Pakistan Military Academy in 1953. In his military career, he acted as the Vice-Chief of General Staff (VCGS) at the GHQ, commanded an armoured division, and later served in the GHQ as Military Secretary (MS). He was promoted to Lieutenant General rank in March 1984 and given the command of II Corps at Multan. After retiring from the army in March 1988, he started his political career. Raja Saroop also served as Punjab governor in 1995 and 1996 during the then prime minister Benazir Bhutto era.

**Oct. 23:** The Financial Action Task Force (FATF) announced to keep Pakistan on the grey list till February 2021.

**Oct. 23:** The Supreme Court (SC) issued the detailed judgement of Qazi Faez Isa case in which it observed that the judicial reference against him was filed in complete disregard of the law.

**Oct. 23:** Pakistan and Argentina agreed to expand bilateral trade by increasing interaction at multiple levels.

**Oct. 23:** PMIK appointed Raoof Hasan, who is brother of Fawad Hasan Fawad, the former principal secretary to former prime minister Nawaz Sharif, special assistant to the PM(SAPM) on information.

**Oct. 23:** Punjab Governor Chaudhary Mohammad Sarwar announced

#### Post-Trump US Foreign Policy

Extracted from an article by Dr Maleeh Lodhi

The American people have chosen Joe Biden to lead their country. The overarching question for the international community at this moment is: how Biden will change American foreign policy?

As someone with rich experience in foreign policy having long served as chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations committee and as vice-president, Biden is expected to follow a more traditional approach fundamentally different from Trump's unpredictable and whimsical policies. In contrast to Trump's 'America First' policy, Biden would seek to restore his country's multilateralist credentials. A Biden administration is likely to see: the revival of a more stable foreign policy, renewal of commitment to multilateralism, reaffirmation of relations with allies, reversal of Trump's abandonment of the Iran nuclear deal, reengagement with key international institutions, return to the Paris climate agreement and recommitment to alliances especially Nato.

A key priority for Biden will also be to mend America's damaged international reputation. Clearly four years of Trump's disruptive impact on the world have dented America's standing, eroded its influence and diminished its soft power. Biden will try to reverse that.

On Afghanistan and the US commitment to withdraw its remaining forces, Biden's policy will not differ much from Trump's. Asked in an interview earlier this year what he would do if the Taliban ended up in power, he said: 'I have' 'zero responsibility. The responsibility I have is to protect America's national interest and not put our women and men in harm's way to try to solve every single problem in the world by use of force'.

A significant departure from Trump's policy would be re-entering the Iran nuclear deal. Biden has repeatedly asserted he would re-commit to JCPOA, if Iran complied, and seek to strengthen it with partners.

In the Middle East, it remains an open question how Biden's frequent criticism of Saudi Arabia would translate into policy. His support for Israel will continue to be firm, in line with long-standing US policy.

The biggest foreign policy challenge will remain America's relations with China. Given the anti-China mood and bipartisan consensus in the US, Biden will likely adopt a tough line. But while continuing to engage in strategic competition and containment, Biden will be less combative and abrasive than Trump and look for areas of cooperation on global issues such as climate change. For its part, China will want to stabilise relations by reaching out to President-elect Biden.

Predictability and stability in US foreign policy would be the most important change from the Trump years





4-year scholarship program for students of Balochistan, Gilgit-Baltistan and FATA. Every year 3,200 students of these areas will be given 100% scholarship and 16,852 students will be given 50% scholarship in the universities of Punjab.

**Oct. 25:** Punjab Chief Minister Sardar Usman Buzdar inaugurated the Orange Line Metro Train at Dera Gujran Depot in Lahore.

**Oct. 25:** PMIK wrote to Facebook CEO Mark Zuckerberg asking for ban on Islamophobic content on the social media platform.

**Oct. 26:** Turkey's Minister for National Defence General (retd) Hulusi Akar called on COAS General Bajwa.

**Oct. 26:** The Senate and the National Assembly passed unanimous resolutions, strongly condemning the latest attempt of illegal and Islamophobic acts of republication of blasphemous sketches of the Holy Prophet (SAW) in France under the garb of freedom of expression.

**Oct. 26:** While abolishing quota for foreign students for the first time in the country's history, the Pakistan Medical Commission (PMC) made it mandatory for overseas Pakistanis and foreign students to clear Medical and Dental College Admission Test (MDCAT) to get admission in Pakistan.

**Oct. 26:** Chief Minister Usman Buzdar approved regularisation of 3,235 employees besides enhancing the retirement age from 45 years to 50 years for rescuers to further improve Rescue 1122 service.

**Oct. 27:** Pakistan observed October 27 as Black Day to condemn India's illegal and prolonged occupation in Jammu

and Kashmir.

**Oct. 27:** Afghan and Pakistani officials at the Pakistan-Afghanistan Trade and Investment Forum 2020 in Islamabad agreed to solve 16 out of 21 issues related to trade and transit between the two countries.

**Oct. 27:** Nong Rong, China's new ambassador for Pakistan—first non-career ambassador in more than 40 years—assumed his assignment in Islamabad.

**Oct. 28:** The Pakistan Navy conducted a successful demonstration of anti-ship missiles fired from the sea and the air in the northern Arabian Sea.

**Oct. 28:** Chief Minister Sindh Syed Murad Ali Shah inaugurated the Kalidas Dam in Nagarparkar with storage capacity of 1,012.3 acre feet.

**Oct. 28:** The Committee to Protect Journalists released its Global Impunity Index 2020. This year, Pakistan is the ninth worst country on the list, just rising up one place from 2019, when it was the eighth worst country.

**Oct. 29:** Senior lawyer from KP, Abdul Latif Afridi, was elected president of the Supreme Court Bar Association.

**Oct. 29:** An Anti-Terrorism Court (ATC) acquitted PMIK in the 2014 Parliament House attack case.

**Oct. 31:** Veteran journalist Syed Fazie Saleem Asmi, better known as Saleem Asmi passed away.

**Nov. 01:** Pakistan's Aleem Dar created a world record for supervising most ODIs as an umpire. Pakistan's second ODI against Zimbabwe was his 210th match that made him go past South African Rudi Koerzen's tally of 209.

**Nov. 01:** Pakistan took an unbeatable 2-0 lead in their One-day International series against Zimbabwe.

**Nov. 02:** PMIK appointed former federal secretary Nargis Sethi Chairperson of the Pay and Pension Commission 2020 to finalise recommendations for fixing remuneration for the inflation-hit public-sector employees.

**Nov. 02:** KP Chief Minister Mahmood Khan inaugurated the newly-established Cadet College at Mamad Gat in Mohmand tribal district.

**Nov. 02:** Punjab Chief Minister Usman Buzdar removed Information Minister Fayazul Hassan Chohan and appointed Dr Firdous Ashiq Awan his Special Assistant on Information.

**Nov. 02:** US Special Representative for Afghan Reconciliation Ambassador Zalmay Khalilzad called on COAS Gen Bajwa in Rawalpindi.

**Nov. 03:** PMIK announced a major relief package for industries by abolishing 'peak-hour' tariff for all industries, alongside a 50 percent concession on additional electricity consumption to boost industrialization and increase exports.

**Nov. 03:** Pakistan received 45 stolen relics from the United States. The repatriated items include a Gandharan frieze featuring seven figures of Buddha beside a Bodhisattva Maitreya (a friendly Buddha), a Gandharan box of religious relics and a grey schist relief of Panchika and his consort Hariti Panchika.

**Nov. 04:** Pakistan and Bosnia and Herzegovina agreed to improve the volume of trade and expand cooperation in different fields, including science and technology. They also signed a memorandum of understanding on scientific and

### Afghan talks fail to halt civilian casualties

The conflict in Afghanistan has killed and injured nearly 6,000 civilians in the first nine months of 2020 according to the United Nations, as high levels of violence continue despite peace negotiations





### The Legendary Abdul Rashid Junior

On Nov 04, Pakistan hockey legend Abdul Rashid Junior passed away at the age of 73.

(A look at his career)

- Abdul Rashid Junior was born on 29th April 1947 in Bannu in NWFP (now Khyber Pakhtunkhwa).
- He made his international debut in 1968 and continued to don green jersey till 1976.
- He was one of the three top scorers of the 1968 Olympics, where Pakistan clinched gold from their archrivals India.
- He was the youngest hockey player in the 1968 Olympics where he scored a hat-trick against Holland.
- He struck the extra time goal to give his country Asian Games gold in 1970.
- He also led the side which won the 1971 Hockey World Cup.
- He is the only sportsman to have a complete set of Olympic



medals: Gold (1968), Silver (1972) and Bronze (1976). He was part of 1968 gold medal-winning squad as well as a member of the 1972 silver medal-winning team and the 1976 bronze medal-winning side.

- Rashid ended his career by captaining Pakistan at the Montreal Olympics in 1976.
- When he called it a day, Rashid's tally of 96 international goals was a Pakistan record at the time.
- Rashid had the unique distinction of being the top scorer at the 1968 and 1972 Olympics.
- He turned to coaching-managing teams that included 1994 World Cup which Pakistan won.
- He was also the manager of the 1994 victorious FIH Champions Trophy team.

- He was the younger brother of four-time Olympian Brigadier Abdul Hameed Hamidi, who led Pakistan to its maiden gold medal victory at Rome Olympics in 1960.

technological cooperation as well as the readmission agreement.

**Nov. 04:** Ms Zahida Perveen was appointed the new secretary of Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, with immediate effect.

**Nov. 04:** The Asian Development Bank (ADB) announced to provide about \$10 billion in fresh assistance to Pakistan over the next five years to speed up economic recovery process.

**Nov. 05:** A contingent of the Russian Special Forces arrived in Pakistan for two-week military exercise 'BRUZHBA 5'.

**Nov. 05:** Russia provided a new structure for much-touted North-South Gas Pipeline Project (NSGPP) in a goodwill gesture, showing how determined and committed Moscow is for developing strategic stakes in Pakistan.

**Nov. 05:** Chairman of Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Šefik Džaferović, met COAS General Bajwa at the General Headquarters (GHQ).

**Nov. 07:** Progressive political activist Syed Haider Abbas Gardezi died. He was 72.

**Nov. 08:** Ahsan Raza became the first on-field umpire by officiating 50 Twenty20 internationals.

**Nov. 08:** Prominent constitutional lawyer and activist Hina Jilani was elected as the chairperson of the Human Rights Commission of Pakistan (HRCP) for the next three years. Asad Iqbal Butt was elected as the co-chairperson, whereas veteran journalist and rights defender Husain Naqi will be working as the HRCP's treasurer in the new term. Kamran Arif (Khyber Pakhtunkhwa), Raja Ashraf (Punjab), Habib Tahir (Balochistan) and Qazi Khizr (Sindh) were elected as the HRCP vice presidents.

**Nov. 08:** The opening ceremony of Pak-Russia military

exercise, Druzhba-V, was held at Tarbela.

**Nov. 08:** Pakistan got an unassailable 2-0 lead against Zimbabwe in their three-match Twenty20 International series.

**Nov. 09:** The Sindh High Court appointed 'officers of the High Court' to supervise the process of competitive examination being conducted by the Sindh Public Service Commission (SPSC) to ensure merit and transparency.

**Nov. 10:** The 20th Shanghai Cooperation Organisation Council of Heads of State (SCO-CHS) session was held online. Addressing the session, Prime Minister Imran Khan called for global coordinated efforts to combat adverse impacts of the coronavirus pandemic and to fight with its emerging second wave. He also called for steadfastly opposing extremist and xenophobic tendencies, including racist ideologies, inspired by neo-Nazism and Islamophobia.

**Nov. 10:** A court of inquiry, formed on the orders of COAS Gen Bajwa, recommended removal of two Pakistan Rangers

and Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) officials involved in the incident of "kidnapping" the Sindh IGP for creating "an unwarranted situation that led to misunderstanding between two state institutions".

**Nov. 11:** Iranian Foreign Minister Javad Zarif, reached Pakistan on an official visit. He held meetings with Prime Minister Imran Khan, Foreign Minister Shah Mehmood Qureshi and COAS General Bajwa separately.

**Nov. 11:** The Embassy of the United States of America in Islamabad came under intense fire after its social media team committed a diplomatic faux pas by retweeting a statement criticising the Pakistani government. The embassy later

### Captain Maroof Afzal New Chairman FPSC

Belonging in 15th CTP, Captain Maroof Afzal is an upright officer of Pakistan Administrative Service, and is blessed with wide experience of administration, judicial functions, social and infrastructure development. He served for more than 32 years on positions of responsibility in the federal government. He started his career as an officer in the army but later joined the civil service through competition. He had worked as Secretary Cabinet, Establishment Division, Secretary Ministry of Information Technology & Telecommunication, Secretary Industries & Production, Chairman Capital Development Authority (CDA) & Chairman National Highway Authority (NHA). He enjoyed reputation of an honest and dutiful officer, who was known for taking on challenges as an officer of integrity. Captain Maroof Afzal assumed the membership of Federal Public Service Commission (FPSC) at the end of his bureaucratic career earlier this year, where he will continue to serve as the Chairman of this commission till 19th April 2023, the unexpired portion of his time as member.





apologised and said its Twitter account "was accessed [...] without authorization."

**Nov. 12:** Maroof Afzal was appointed new chairman of Federal Public Service Commission (FPSC).

Maroof Afzal is an upright officer of Pakistan Administrative Service (PAS), erstwhile known as District Management Group (DMG), and belonged to 15th CTP. Having wide experience of administration, judicial functions, social and infrastructure development. He served for more than 32 years on positions of responsibility in the federal government.

He initiated his career as an officer in the army and later joined the civil service through competition. He had worked as Secretary Cabinet, Establishment Division, Secretary Ministry of Information Technology & Telecommunication, Secretary Industries & Production, Chairman Capital Development Authority (CDA) & chairman National Highway Authority (NHA).

Maroof Afzal, who is currently member of the FPSC, would be holding his new assignment till 19th April 2023, the unexpired portion of his time as member.

**Nov. 12:** Pakistani authorities declared Altaf Hussain, founder of Muttahida Qaumi Movement (MQM), one of the most wanted terrorists of the country, listing him in the Federal Investigation Agency's Red Book for the first time.

**Nov. 12:** Chief Justice of the Peshawar High Court Justice Waqar Ahmad Seth died of Covid-19.

**Nov. 13:** Senior puisne judge of the Peshawar High Court, Justice Qaiser Rashid Khan, was appointed as acting chief justice of the PHC after the demise of Justice Waqar Ahmad Seth.

**Nov. 13:** Bollywood actor Asif Basra was found dead.

**Nov. 13:** A PTI MNA Malik Amir Dogar was appointed Special Assistant to Prime Minister on Political Affairs.

**Nov. 14:** Pakistan released a dossier on 'Indian state-sponsorship of terrorism and destabilisation in Pakistan' saying that India along with sponsoring terrorism in the country has also established a cell operating under supervision of Prime Minister Modi to sabotage China-Pak Economic Corridor (CPEC).

**Nov. 14:** The Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs extended

its support to UNESCO Pakistan with the approved funding of 13.5 million Norwegian Kroner (NOK) for the improvement of the "Girls' Lower Secondary Education Programme (GLSEP)".

**Nov. 14:** Senior journalist Arshad Waheed Chaudhry passed away.

**Nov. 15:** Renowned Pakistan film producer and director Iqbal Kashmiri passed away.

**Nov. 15:** Elections were held in Gilgit-Baltistan where Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf emerged as the single largest party.

### Turkish immigrants' children behind world's 1st effective COVID-19 vaccine

German pharmaceutical company Biontech's co-founders Professor Ugur Sahin and his wife Dr. Ozlem Tureci achieved breakthrough by developing a vaccine against coronavirus.

They are among greatest success stories of Germany's three million-strong Turkish community.

**Prof Dr Ugur Sahin**

- He was born in Istanbul, Turkey, in 1962.
- At the age of 4, he moved to Germany, where his father worked in a car factory.
- Graduated from the University of Cologne in 1982, where he studied medicine.
- He worked for many years at the University of Heidelberg Medical Center.
- He has been a professor at the Mainz University Medical Center since 2004.
- Ugur Sahin was awarded the German Cancer Award in 2019.

**Dr Ozlem Tureci**

- Daughter of a Turkish physician who immigrated to Germany from Istanbul.
- She has been widely regarded as a pioneer in cancer immunotherapy.
- Chief Medical Officer of Biontech since 2019.

The couple founded the GSKmmed Pharmaceuticals in 2001, a company specialized in personalized therapeutic cancer drugs. The firm was sold to Japanese pharmaceutical company Astellas in 2016 for more than €400 million.

**BNT162B2 VACCINE CANDIDATE**

- Found to be more than 90% effective during Phase 3 study.
- Pfizer and Biontech are planning to manufacture up to 1.3 billion doses by end of 2021.

**BIONTECH WAS FOUNDED IN 2008**

The company was founded in 2008 in Mainz by Prof. Ugur Sahin, Dr. Ozlem Tureci and Prof. Christoph Huber to develop technologies for individualized cancer immunotherapies.

**BIONTECH'S TEAM: "PROJECT LIGHTSPEED"**

The company named its vaccine project Lightspeed in mid-January. Together with its partner Pfizer, its aim is to make a vaccine available worldwide as quickly as possible.

#### Nato to set up new Space Centre in Ramstein, Germany

Nato is to setup a new Space Centre in Ramstein, Germany, that will serve as a coordination centre for space observation.

The new centre will gather information about possible threats to satellites. It is to be developed into a command centre of defensive measures in near future. The centre is being setup based on Article 5 of the North Atlantic Treaty which empowers the organisation to take collective defence action. It provides criteria under which Nato can take defensive measures.

Article 5 has been invoked by Nato in situations such as Syrian crisis and Russia-Ukraine crisis.

The article says that an armed attack against one or more of the Nato countries in North America or Europe will be considered an attack against all of them. Under this scenario, based on Article 51 of the United Nations Charter, article 5 can be invoked. Article 51 of the UN Charter says that a member has right to act in self-defence and shall assist parties so attacked by taking forthwith. The article also allows the member countries to use armed forces in

such situations. However, this shall be carried on only on the interest of restoring and maintaining security of North Atlantic area.



#### Kester satellite ground station

There are more than 24 satellite ground stations being controlled by the Nato countries. The Kester satellite ground station located in Belgium is currently considered the central to space communication among Nato countries. Likewise, there are 4 other stations that play the role of Central hub.

There are two thousand satellites orbiting the earth. Of these, half are operated by the Nato countries.

#### Significance

This is being done as a countermeasure to aggressive behaviour of China and Russia. These countries are developing anti-satellite systems that could disable blind or should down satellites and create dangerous debris in the orbit. The NATO countries are creating the fifth domain after land, sea, air and cyberspace.



## INTERNATIONAL

**Oct. 16:** A Bosnian court convicted Srečko Acimović, who has long claimed to be one of few Serb soldiers to disobey his superiors during the 1995 Srebrenica massacre of Muslims, and handed him nine years in prison.

**Oct. 16:** Deputy High Court Judge Peter Knox sitting in the High Court London ordered to freeze immediately all six trust properties controlled by the Muttahida Qaumi Movement (MQM) founder Altaf Hussain.

**Oct. 16:** Kyrgyzstan's parliament voted to end a state of emergency in capital Bishkek as Prime Minister Sadyr Japarov formally assumed the interim presidency.

**Oct. 17:** The incumbent Prime Minister of New Zealand Jacinda Ardern won a landslide victory in the general election. Ardern's centre-left Labour Party took 64 seats in the 120-member parliament.

**Oct. 17:** The foreign ministries of Armenia and Azerbaijan declared a 'humanitarian truce'.

**Oct. 18:** Saudi Arabia opened the Grand Mosque in the holy city of Makkah, Islam's holiest site, for prayers for the first time in seven months.

Worshippers returned to visit and pray at the Holy Rawdah at the Prophet's Mosque in Madinah for the first time in almost seven months.

**Oct. 18:** A longstanding UN embargo on arms sales to and from Iran expired in line with a 2015 landmark nuclear deal with world powers from which Washington had withdrawn.

**Oct. 18:** Israel and Bahrain officially established diplomatic relations at a ceremony in Manama, the capital of Bahrain.

**Oct. 18:** Serbia's Laslo Djere beat Italy's Marco Cecchinato to win his second career ATP title at the Sardinia Open.

**Oct. 18:** Bolivians began voting in a presidential election.

**Oct. 18:** Singapore announced that from next year, people living in the city-state will be able to access government agencies, banking services and other amenities with a quick face scan. Singapore will become the world's first country to use facial verification in its national ID scheme.

**Oct. 19:** Saudi Arabia's King Salman issued a series of

orders restructuring the kingdom's advisory Shura Council and the highest religious body as well as the supreme court for which he appointed Khaled bin Abdullah al-Luhaidan the chief justice.

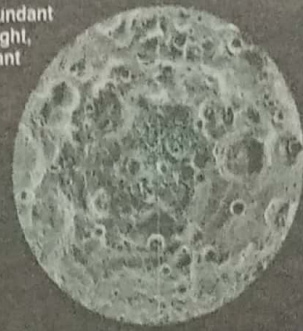
**Oct. 19:** The first ever passenger flight from the United Arab

### Scientists confirm water exists on moon

Water on the moon may be more abundant and accessible than previously thought, a discovery that could prove important to future lunar missions

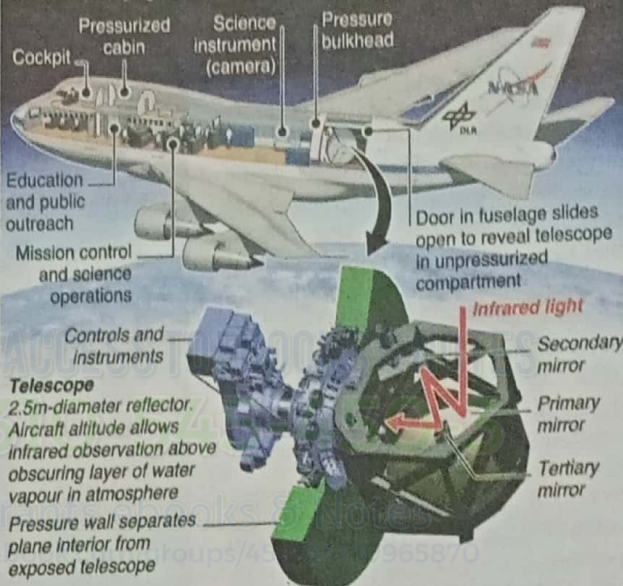
- Molecular water unambiguously detected on surface, trapped in bubbles of lunar glass or between grains of debris

- Around 40,000 square km of permanent shadows – or cold traps – could potentially harbour hidden pockets of water in form of ice



Discovery made using **Stratospheric Observatory For Infrared Astronomy (SOFIA)** – modified Boeing 747 that works as flying observatory

Signatures consistent with water first recorded by India's Chandrayaan-1 probe in 2009, mostly at moon's south pole



### Climate disaster

The UN has said that climate change is largely to blame for a near doubling of natural disasters in the past 20 years. The fact is that global climate change is no longer a problem that may occur in the distant future; the catastrophe is already upon us – and it's growing at an unprecedented scale. Years of rising temperatures and melting polar ice caps have caused a massive increase in natural disasters. Famine has become more commonplace and may even have contributed to the civil wars we see around us. Coastal areas around the world may soon be inundated, creating millions of climate refugees. And yet the international community has been slow to respond.

The reality also is that emissions have continued to rise by 1.5 percent



annually over the last decade, which is in the opposite direction of what is needed. Four years after the Paris accord on climate change was signed, the world has unfortunately moved in the opposite direction.

This means that instead of the 2°C increase target, the world is on track for a 3.2°C temperature rise, which could cause chaos around the world. Criminally, the current model of economic growth around the world remains fuelled by oil and gas. This is unlikely to change radically soon. Even in advanced industrial countries, investment in green technologies is higher, but still nowhere near the levels needed. In this, the main responsibility falls on the G20 countries, which are responsible for 78 percent of carbon emissions. They need to increase their contribution to the fight against climate change by five-fold at least.



Emirates to Israel landed near Tel Aviv.

**Oct. 19:** The Dutch government announced to pay a lump sum of €5,000 to children of all men executed by colonial troops during Indonesia's independence war in the late 1940s.

**Oct. 19:** The number of confirmed coronavirus cases worldwide passed 40 million.

**Oct. 19:** Japan and Vietnam agreed to strengthen security and economic ties, including an agreement in principle for Japan to export military gear and technology to the Southeast Asian nation, amid concerns about China's regional assertiveness.

**Oct. 20:** Israel and the UAE agreed to visa-free travel.

**Oct. 20:** The US government filed a blockbuster lawsuit accusing Google of maintaining an 'illegal monopoly' in online search and advertising in the country's biggest antitrust case in decades.

### What is an antitrust suit?

An antitrust lawsuit is any suit filed under federal or state antitrust laws, the regulations that encourage competition by limiting the market power of any particular firm. The lawsuit can be brought by a company's competitors for anticompetitive business practices, or by purchasers of a product or service, if the anticompetitive practice may have increased the price they paid. An antitrust lawsuit often involves ensuring that mergers and acquisitions don't overly concentrate market power or form monopolies, as well as breaking up firms that have become monopolies. Antitrust laws also prevent multiple firms from colluding or forming a cartel to limit competition through practices such as price fixing. Due to the complexity of deciding what practices will limit competition, antitrust law has become a distinct legal specialization.

**Oct. 20:** Sweden banned telecoms equipment from Huawei and ZTE in its 5G network.

**Oct. 21:** NASA's robotic spacecraft Osiris-Rex briefly touched down on asteroid Bennu's boulder-strewn surface after a four-year journey.

**Oct. 22:** A secretive 2018 agreement between Beijing and the Vatican was renewed, despite strident US condemnation and warnings from Chinese priests loyal to Rome that they have only become more marginalised since it was signed.

**Oct. 22:** Sri Lanka's parliament voted to give President Gotabaya Rajapaksa widespread powers to appoint top officials and dissolve the legislature.

**Oct. 22:** The first ministerial meeting of G-20 anti-corruption working group was held. Saudi Arabia became the first

country to host the meeting.

**Oct. 22:** Lebanon politicians picked Saad al-Hariri, as the new prime minister.

**Oct. 23:** Libya's two rival factions signed a "permanent" ceasefire agreement following five days of UN-hosted talks.

**Oct. 23:** India assumed the chairmanship of International Labour Organization after 35 years.

**Oct. 23:** Israel and Sudan agreed to take steps to normalize relations in a deal brokered with the help of the United States.

**Oct. 23:** The FATF plenary removed Iceland and Magnolia from the grey list. North Korea and Iran will remain on blacklist.

**Oct. 23:** The European Parliament ruled that Plant-based products that do not contain meat can continue to be labelled 'sausages' or 'burgers'.

**Oct. 23:** Guinea's President Alpha Conde won election to get a third term in office.

**Oct. 24:** Pope Francis appointed an Italian priest, Pierbattista Pizzaballa, as Latin patriarch of Occupied Al-Quds.

**Oct. 24:** The United Nations announced that 50 countries have ratified a UN treaty to ban nuclear weapons triggering its entry into force in 90 days. The 50th ratification from Honduras has triggered the treaty's entry into force on Jan. 22.

**Oct. 25:** India-born Wavel Ramkalawan was elected as the President of Seychelles.

This is the first time, the opposition candidate has won elections in Seychelles since 1977.

**Oct. 25:** The United States approved the potential sale of three weapon systems to Taiwan, as well as missiles and artillery.

**Oct. 25:** Lewis Hamilton became Formula One's record all-time race-winner when he claimed his 92nd victory at the Portuguese Grand Prix to pass Michael Schumacher's 14-year-old record of 91 triumphs at the top of the list.

**Oct. 25:** Samsung Electronics chairman Lee Kun-hee, who transformed the South Korean firm into a global tech titan, died at the age of 78.

**Oct. 25:** Wilton Gregory became the first African-American to be named as cardinal by Pope Francis.

**Oct. 27:** Indian government notified a law—UT of Jammu and Kashmir Reorganisation (Adaptation of Central Laws) Third Order 2020—allowing any Indian citizen to buy land in the valley.

**Oct. 27:** United States and India signed Basic Exchange and Cooperation Agreement (BECA) on sharing of geospatial information in New Delhi.

**Oct. 30:** Chris Gayle became the first player to smash 1,000 T20 sixes. The

## Biden's immediate climate agenda

U.S. President-elect Joe Biden is promising to create a carbon neutral economy by 2050, reversing many of Donald Trump's executive orders



**Rejoin Paris Climate Agreement**  
Only requires letter to UN, takes effect 30 days later

**Climate summit**  
Assemble global leaders to press big industrial nations to cut greenhouse gas emissions further

**Energy**  
Revoke Trump's executive order to all federal agencies to dismantle climate policies

**Link climate to aid relief**  
Include clean energy provisions in new economic stimulus measures

**Executive orders to cut emissions**  
Methane limits for oil and gas wells. Reinstate fuel economy standards, tighten efficiency standards for appliances and buildings

**Financial regulations**  
Require public companies to disclose climate change-related financial risks and greenhouse gas emissions

**Fossil fuels**  
Restrict offshore energy exploration and production. Halt Keystone XL pipeline intended to transport crude from Canada's oil sands

**Green jobs**  
Has pledged \$2 trillion for green economy in first four-year term. Measures include building charging stations for electric vehicles, and energy efficient housing

**Prioritize environment law**  
Create advisory board to coordinate policies across agencies, and increase pollution monitoring in vulnerable communities

**Restore wildlife areas**  
Reverse Trump's "assault on America's national treasures" like cuts to Bears Ears and Grand Staircase-Escalante monuments, and opening up parts of Arctic National Wildlife Refuge to oil exploration





fearless, free-scoring West Indies batsman, 41, is the only player to amass more than 13,000 T20 runs in little over 400 matches.

**Oct. 30:** A Saudi man in a speeding car crashed into the outer gates of Mecca's Grand Mosque that houses the Kaaba that observant Muslims pray toward five times a day.

**Oct. 31:** Former Kirkuk governor Najmeddin Karim, who was forced to quit for organising a referendum in defiance of Iraq's federal government and wanted for corruption, died.

**Oct. 31:** Legendary actor Sean Connery, best known for playing the original on-screen James Bond, died at the age of 90.

**Nov. 01:** Will Pucovski and Marcus Harris smashed double centuries in setting a new record for the biggest partnership in Sheffield Shield history by scoring 486 runs.

**Nov. 01:** Saudi Arabia opened borders for Umrah which was halted due to the rising number of coronavirus cases in the

## The State of the Paris Agreement

Countries by their participation in the Paris Agreement (as of November 4, 2020)



Kingdom and worldwide.

**Nov. 01:** Millions of census-takers began knocking on doors across China for a once-a-decade head count of the world's largest population that for the first time will use mobile apps to help crunch the massive numbers.

**Nov. 01:** Veteran British journalist Robert Fisk, who lived in and covered the Arab world for more than 40 years, died.

**Nov. 02:** At least 22 people were killed when militants stormed the Kabul University.

**Nov. 02:** England's Callum Shinkwin won his maiden European Tour title when he beat Finland's Kalle Samooja in a playoff to win the Cyprus Open.

**Nov. 03:** Qatar's ruler announced to hold election for the country's policy reviewing chamber in October 2021, marking the Gulf emirate's first national election.

**Nov. 03:** India, Australia, Japan and the United States started a strategic navy drill Exercise Malabar in the Bay of Bengal, with all four countries keeping a wary eye on China's growing military power.

**Nov. 03:** The first official mosque in Athens, delayed for more than a decade, opened its doors.

**Nov. 03:** Ivory Coast president Alassane Ouattara was reelected to a contested third term.

**Nov. 03:** Australian all-rounder Shane Watson retired from all forms of cricket.

**Nov. 03:** Presidential election to elect the 46<sup>th</sup> President of the United States was held.

**Nov. 04:** The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and UAE agreed to extend \$4 bn loan to Pakistan for another year.

**Nov. 04:** Israel's army demolished the homes of nearly 80 Palestinian Bedouins in the occupied West Bank.

**Nov. 04:** Bangladesh and United States held a joint Naval Exercise CARAT (Cooperation Afloat Readiness and Training) at Chittagong.

**Nov. 05:** Pope Francis blunted the powers of the Vatican

## GK Tidbits

- The metal that is mostly used for filaments of electric bulbs is: **Tungsten**
- Japanese art 'Ikebana' is related to: **Flower arrangement**
- The current chairperson of the Governing Body of International Labour Organization is: **Apurva Chandra**
- The treaty that founded the Euro currency is: **Maastricht Treaty**
- The current President of Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) is: **Duarte Pacheco**
- Inter Parliamentary Union was established in: **1889**
- The typhoons are classified on the basis of their: **Wind speeds**
- Cyclones can form only on oceans with sea surface temperature greater than or equal to: **26 degree Celsius**
- The Coriolis force is zero at the equator and maximum at: **The poles**
- Security and Growth for All in the Region (SAGAR) was launched by: **India**
- Taiwan was split from China mainland in: **1949**
- The first Sino-Japanese war was fought in:

1895

13. The 59th Quadrennial US Presidential Election was held on: **November 3, 2020**

14. State Sponsors of Terrorism List is generated by: **United States**

15. Currently, the only three countries on State Sponsors of Terrorism List are: **North Korea, Iran and Syria.**

16. The Gilgit-Baltistan (Empowerment and Self-Governance) Order, was promulgated in: **2009**

17. The famous Inca citadel of Machu Picchu is located in: **Peru**

18. The 4th edition of Pak-Russia military exercise 'Druzba' was held in Russia in: **October 2019**

19. Malik Ayaz, Mahmud Ghaznavi's fabled slave from Georgia, is buried in: **Lahore**

20. Khizri Gate of Lahore was renamed as Sheranwala Gate by: **Ranjit Singh**

21. Masti Gate was originally named: **Masjidi Gate**

22. The only peak that has never been conquered in the winter season is: **K2**

23. The height of K2 is: **8,611 metres**

24. Bram Stoker, the famed writer best known today for his 1897 Gothic horror novel Dracula,

belonged to: **Ireland**

25. Spread over 130 acres, the biggest park of Pakistan is: **Bagh Ibne Qasim (Karachi)**

26. The historical Chitti Masjid is located in Khanpur tehsil of district: **Rahim Yar Khan**

27. The World Expo 2021-22 will be held in: **Dubai**

28. The World Science Day for Peace and Development is celebrated on: **Nov 10**

29. General Charles De Gaulle is a former president of: **France**

30. The Koldiji Fort is a historic site located in Sindh's district of: **Khairpur**

31. Naik Saif Ali Janjua Shaheed (Nishan-e-Haider) embraced martyrdom on: **Oct 26, 1948**

32. Saif Janjua was awarded Hilal-i-Kashmir (posthumous), the highest operational award of Azad Jammu and Kashmir, on: **March 14, 1949.**

33. The government of Pakistan notified the equivalence of Hilal-i-Kashmir with Nishan-i-Haider on: **Nov 30, 1995**

34. Naik Janjua, who was born in Tehsil Nakial, Kotli, AJK, was martyred at the age of: **25 years**

35. Bundesbank is the central bank of: **Germany**

36. Europe's largest economy is: **Germany**



## Global Hunger Index, 2020

On October 16, 2020, the Global hunger index was launched. It is jointly prepared by Welthungerhilfe and Concern Worldwide. According to the report, India ranked 94th among 107 countries. The report put India under serious category with the score of 27.2.

## Key highlights of the report

The report says that India has serious levels of Hunger. The child stunting rate in India was 37.4%. That is, 37.4% of child population (0-5 years) in India face stunting. The child wasting was at 17.3%. The undernourishment rate of India was at 14% and child mortality at 3.7%. India's neighbourhood perform better than India. Nepal was at 73rd rank Bangladesh and Pakistan at 75th and 88th rank respectively. Between 1991 and 2014 the countries such as India, Bangladesh, Nepal and Pakistan faced concentrated stunting among children. The main reasons behind stunting in these countries are poor dietary diversity, household poverty and low levels of maternal education.

## About the report

The report scores the countries based on four indicators such as undernourishment, child wasting, child stunting and child mortality. According to the report, undernourishment is the share of population whose caloric intake is not sufficient. Child wasting is the children who have low weight for their height. Child stunting is the children who have low height for their weight. For this the children of age below 5 are considered.

## Predictions of the report

The report says that given the trajectory, the world will not be able to achieve zero hunger by 2030. Zero hunger is one of the major sustainable development goals of the United Nations.

department involved in a controversial London property deal and ordered all ties cut with a suspect investment fund.

**Nov. 05:** After learning that a war crimes tribunal in The Hague had confirmed his indictment for war crimes, Kosovo's President Hashim Thaci resigned with immediate effect.

**Nov. 05:** The United States officially left the Paris accord, becoming the first country to ever withdraw from the international climate change pact.

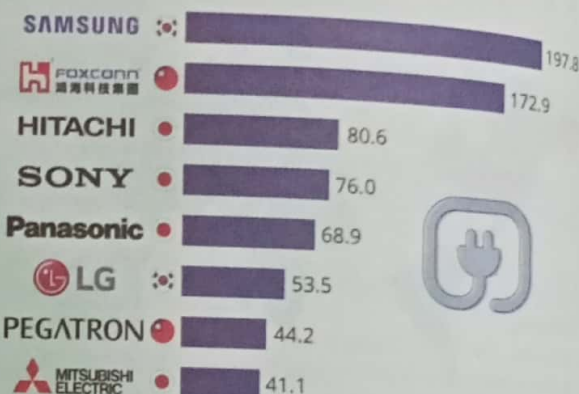
**Nov. 07:** Americans chose Democrat Joe Biden as their 46th president after a 20-vote electoral victory in Pennsylvania put him over the 270 electoral votes needed to win.

**Nov. 07:** The UAE announced a major overhaul of the country's Islamic personal laws, allowing unmarried couples to cohabit, loosening alcohol restrictions and criminalising honour killings.

**Nov. 08:** Global coronavirus infections exceeded 50 million, with a second wave of the virus in the past 30 days accounting for a quarter of the total.

## Electronics "Made in Asia"

Producers of electronics with the highest annual revenues worldwide in 2019 (in billion U.S. dollars)



## GK Tidbits

37. Cyril Ramaphosa is the president of: **South Africa**
38. Pakistan's current Federal Insurance Ombudsman is: **Dr Khawar Jameel**
39. UN Secretary-General's Special Representative for Afghanistan is: **Deborah Lyons**
40. White Island, also known as Whakaari, is located in: **New Zealand**
41. Renowned poet and journalist Faiz Ahmad Faiz started his career as a: **Lecturer of English**
42. Faiz Ahmad Faiz taught English at the Mohammadan Anglo Oriental College, Amritsar from 1935 to: **1940**
43. After Pakistan's independence, Faiz Ahmad Faiz became the editor of: **Pakistan Times**
44. The owner of Pakistan Times was: **Mian Iftikharuddin**
45. Ayub Medical Complex is in: **Abbottabad**
46. International Rural Women Day is: **October 15**
47. World Food Day is observed on: **October 16**
48. The Representative of Food and Agriculture Organization in Pakistan is: **Minâ Dowlatchahi**
49. A High Mobility Multipurpose Wheeled Vehicle or Humvee is used by: **Military personnel**
50. The Santa Claus Village is in: **Rovaniemi, Finland**
51. China's first special economic zone was established in: **Shenzhen**
52. The Siwa Oasis is located in: **Egypt**
53. The only two Muslim countries that produce heart stents indigenously are Pakistan and: **Turkey**
54. The first member state to endorse the UN Action for Peacekeeping (A4P) declaration of shared commitments was: **Pakistan**
55. The last report of the Secretary-General to the Security Council on UNMOGIP was published in: **1972**
56. The United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan (UNCIP) was established in: **Jan. 1948**
57. The World Space Week is celebrated under United Nations resolution that was passed in: **1999**
58. The first man-made satellite, Sputnik was launched from the earth on: **October 4, 1957**
59. The Treaty on Principles Governing the Activities of States in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space was signed on: **October 10, 1967**
60. The Treaty on Principles Governing the Activities of States in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space is also called: **Outer Space Treaty**
61. The Andes mountain range is volcanic because of the subduction of: **Nazca plate**
62. Chlorophyll contains: **Magnesium**
63. Part of the plant through which turmeric is obtained is: **Stem**
64. Lacrimal glands are situated in the: **Eye Orbit**
65. The specific role of Vitamin K is in the synthesis of: **Prothrombin**
66. The part of plant which is important for the life cycle of plant is: **Flower**
67. Increased RBC's in the blood lead to a condition called: **Polycythemia**
68. The hormone that regulates the amount of glucose in the blood is: **Insulin**
69. The human feces is yellow in colour due to the presence of a pigment called: **Urobilin**
70. Enzyme found in human saliva is: **Ptyalin**
71. Hansen's disease is also known as: **Leprosy**
72. Gases used for ripening raw fruits are: **Ethylene & Acetylene**



**Nov. 08:** Finance Minister of Turkey, Berat Albayrak, who is also the son-in-law of Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan, resigned, citing health reasons.

**Nov. 09:** President Donald Trump 'terminated' Defence Secretary Mark Esper and appointed Christopher Miller, director of the National Counterterrorism Center, the acting secretary of defence.

**Nov. 10:** Armenia and Azerbaijan agreed on a deal with Russia to end weeks of fierce clashes over Nagorno-Karabakh.

**Nov. 10:** Palestinian veteran negotiator Saeb Erekat, who was a long-time architect of plans to end the conflict with Israel through the creation of an independent Palestinian state, died.

**Nov. 11:** Hong Kong's pro-democracy lawmakers announced to quit en masse in protest at the ousting of four of their colleagues by the city's pro-Beijing authorities.

**Nov. 11:** Bahrain's Sheikh Khalifa bin Salman al Khalifa, the world's longest serving prime minister and a staunch ally of neighbouring Saudi Arabia and the United States, died.

**Nov. 12:** Ghana's former president Jerry Rawlings died aged 73.

**Nov. 12:** Australia appointed a special investigator to prosecute alleged war crimes by its special forces deployed in Afghanistan, a move to forestall any prosecution at the International Criminal Court.

**Nov. 13:** G20 nations declared a "common framework" for an

extended debt restructuring plan for coronavirus-ravaged developing countries, but campaigners cautioned that more was needed to alleviate a "wave of debt crises".

**Nov. 13:** Aung San Suu Kyi's ruling party secured an absolute majority in Myanmar's election.

**Nov. 13:** Bangladesh's Sadat Rahman, 17, won the 2020 KidsRights International Children's Peace Prize for developing a mobile app to help teenagers report cyberbullying and cyber crime in his western district of Narail.

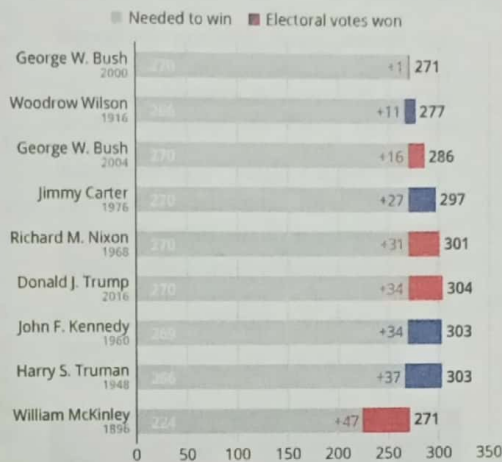
**Nov. 14:** Italy's Jannik Sinner became the youngest first-time winner on the ATP Tour in 12 years after edging Canadian Vasek Pospisil to claim the Sofia Open.

**Nov. 15:** Suzuki's Joan Mir won the MotoGP world title.

**Nov. 15:** Fifteen Asia-Pacific countries signed the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP), the world's biggest free trade deal. The RCEP includes 10 Southeast Asian economies along with China, Japan, South Korea, New Zealand and Australia, with members accounting for around 30 percent of global

## The Closest Presidential Races Since 1892

Electoral votes won by winning candidates in the closest U.S. presidential elections since 1892



gross domestic product.

**Nov. 15:** Lewis Hamilton secured a record-equalling seventh Formula One world title after winning the Turkish Grand Prix.

**Nov. 15:** An unidentified Chinese buyer paid a world record 1.6 million euros (\$1.9 million) for a female homing pigeon called New Kim.

## GK Tidbits

73. Main ore of mercury is: **Cinnabar**

74. Egg shell is made up of: **Calcium Carbonate**

75. The vitamins that are water soluble are: **Vitamins B & C**

76. The vitamins that are fat soluble are: **Vitamins A, D, E & K**

77. Common preservative in food processing industry is: **Benzoic Acid**

78. First organic compound synthesized in laboratory was: **Urea by Friedrich Wöhler**

79. Silver's shine is blackened by: **Ozone Gas**

80. Substance used in Cancer treatment is: **Cobalt -60**

81. Cobalt is found in: **Vitamin B12**

82. The father of Computer science is: **Charles Babbage**

83. In a computer, most processing takes place in: **CPU**

84. Data are represented as discrete signals in: **Digital Computer**

85. Scientific name of Computer is: **Sillico sapiens**

86. The name of the display feature that highlights

area of the screen which requires operator attention is: **Reverse Video**

87. Computers that combine both measuring and counting are called: **Hybrid Computer**

88. FORTRAN is: **Formula Translation**

89. Program is translated and executed at run time line by line by: **Interpreter**

90. An entire program is converted into machine language by: **Compiler**

91. The father of personal computer is: **Edward Robert**

92. EEPROM stands for: **Electronic Erasable Programmable Read Only Memory**

93. First electronic computer was developed by: **J.V. Atanoff**

94. Programming languages classified as low-level languages are called: **Assembly Languages**

95. Oldest stock exchange in the world is: **Amsterdam Stock Exchange**

96. Taxation and the government's expenditure policy are dealt under: **Fiscal Policy**

97. If the price of an inferior good falls, then its

demand: **Remains Constant**

98. Main source of revenue to meet different expenditures is: **Internal Borrowings**

99. The book 'Planned Economy for India' is written by: **M. Visvesvaraya**

100. The 'Father of Economics' is: **Adam Smith**



The place in Iceland where Green Fields, Yellow River, Black Beach and Blue Sea meet.



## MCQs / NATIONAL

1. On Oct. 16, Punjab Police and the \_\_\_\_\_ High Commission agreed to enhance information-sharing and professional cooperation.  
(a) Australian (b) Canadian  
(c) Bangladeshi (d) **British**
2. On Oct. 16, Pakistan became the second Muslim country in the world, after \_\_\_\_\_, to produce heart stents indigenously.  
(a) Malaysia (b) Indonesia  
(c) **Turkey** (d) UAE
3. The N-Ovative Health Technology Facility that will produce heart stents has been established at \_\_\_\_\_.  
(a) COMSATS (b) **NUST**  
(c) QAU (d) FAST
4. On Oct. 17, Pakistan ranked \_\_\_\_\_ out of 107 countries in the 2020 Global Hunger Index, having a level of hunger that is categorised as serious.  
(a) **88th** (b) 90th  
(c) 94th (d) 105th
5. On Oct. 18, \_\_\_\_\_ defeated Southern Punjab to win the National T20 Inter-Provincial Association Trophy.  
(a) **KP** (b) Balochistan  
(c) Army (d) Sindh
6. On Oct. 20, the \_\_\_\_\_ nominated Peshawar-based, award-winning biologist Dr Faisal Khan among 25 as part of the Global Future Council on Synthetic Biology.  
(a) WHO (b) **WEF**  
(c) IMF (d) Nobel Foundation
7. According to the National Nutrition Survey 2018, which was released on Oct. 20, \_\_\_\_\_ in ten under-five children in Pakistan are stunted.  
(a) Two (b) Three  
(c) **Four** (d) Seven
8. On Oct. 20, \_\_\_\_\_ was elected as new president of Pakistan Scrabble Association.  
(a) Waseem Khatri (b) Tariq Pervez  
(c) Goshpi Avari (d) **Nadeem Omar**
9. On Oct. 20, Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, the leader of Hizb-e-Islami and a former \_\_\_\_\_ of Afghanistan, called on PMIK in Islamabad.  
(a) President (b) Vice-President  
(c) Foreign Minister (d) **Prime Minister**
10. On Oct. 21, the Arts Council of Pakistan bestowed the Habib Jalib Peace Award 2020 on \_\_\_\_\_.  
(a) Hamid Khan (b) IA Rehman  
(c) **Asma Jahangir** (d) Hina Jilani
11. On Oct. 21, Rear Admiral \_\_\_\_\_ assumed charge of Commander Pakistan Fleet.  
(a) Asif Khaliq (b) **Naveed Ashraf**  
(c) Basit Butt (d) Zaka ur Rehman
12. Noted *naat khwaan* Mehboob Hamdani passed away on \_\_\_\_\_.  
(a) **Oct. 21** (b) Oct. 22  
(c) Oct. 23 (d) Oct. 24
13. On Oct. 22, Hafiz Tahir Mehmood Ashrafi was appointed Special Representative of the Prime Minister on Religious Harmony and the \_\_\_\_\_.  
(a) **Middle East** (b) Saudi Arabia  
(c) Arab League (d) OIC
14. On Oct. 22, Lt-Gen (retd) Raja Saroop Khan, former governor of \_\_\_\_\_, passed away.  
(a) Sindh (b) **Punjab**  
(c) GB (d) Balochistan
15. On Oct. 23, the FATF announced to keep Pakistan on the grey list till \_\_\_\_\_.  
(a) Dec. 2020 (b) Jan. 2021  
(c) **Feb. 2021** (d) Oct. 2021
16. On Oct. 23, PMIK appointed Raouf Hasan his special assistant on \_\_\_\_\_.  
(a) Petroleum (b) Balochistan  
(c) Mines & Minerals (d) **Information**
17. SAPM Raouf Hasan is a brother of \_\_\_\_\_, the principal secretary to former prime minister, Nawaz Sharif.  
(a) Javaid Hasan Khan  
(b) Suhail Aamir Abbasi  
(c) M. Alam Husain  
(d) **Fawad Hasan Fawad**
18. On \_\_\_\_\_, CM Punjab, Sardar Usman Buzdar, inaugurated the



Orange Line Metro Train, in Lahore.  
(a) Oct. 23 (b) Oct. 24  
(c) **Oct. 25** (d) Oct. 26

19. On \_\_\_\_\_, the Senate and the National Assembly passed unanimous resolutions, strongly condemning the latest attempt of illegal and Islamophobic acts of re-publication of blasphemous sketches of the Holy Prophet (SAW) in France under the garb of freedom of expression.  
(a) Oct. 25 (b) **Oct. 26**  
(c) Oct. 27 (d) Oct. 28

20. Pakistan-Afghanistan Trade and Investment Forum 2020 was held in \_\_\_\_\_.  
(a) **Islamabad** (b) Rawalpindi  
(c) Quetta (d) Peshawar

21. On Oct. 28, CM Sindh, Syed Murad Ali Shah, inaugurated the Kalidas Dam in \_\_\_\_\_ with storage capacity of 1,012.3 acre feet.  
(a) **Nagarparkar** (b) Khairpur  
(c) Thatta (d) Matiari

22. On Oct. 28, the Committee to Protect Journalists released its Global Impunity Index 2020 on which Pakistan is the \_\_\_\_\_ worst country.  
(a) Sixth (b) **Ninth**  
(c) Tenth (d) Twelfth

23. The world record for supervising most ODIs as an umpire belongs to \_\_\_\_\_.  
(a) Hassan Raza (b) Steve Buckner  
(c) **Aleem Dar** (d) Simon Taufel

24. On Nov. 02, PMIK appointed former federal secretary, \_\_\_\_\_, the Chairperson of the Pay and Pension Commission 2020.  
(a) Nasim Nawaz (b) Younus Dhaga  
(c) Tanim Masud (d) **Nargis Sethi**

25. On Nov. 02, Dr Firdous Ashiq Awan was appointed the Special Assistant to CM Punjab on \_\_\_\_\_.  
(a) Education (b) Industries  
(c) Forests (d) **Information**

26. On Nov. 04, Pakistan and \_\_\_\_\_ agreed to improve the volume of trade and expand cooperation in different fields.  
(a) Argentina (b) China  
(c) **Bosnia & Herzegovina**  
(d) Canada

27. On Nov. 04, Zahida Perveen was



appointed the new secretary of Ministry of \_\_\_\_\_  
 (a) Interior  
 (b) Information & Broadcasting  
 (c) Trade & Commerce  
 (d) Foreign Affairs

28. On Nov. 04, the \_\_\_\_\_ announced to provide about \$10 billion in fresh assistance to Pakistan over the next five years.  
 (a) ADB  
 (b) World Bank  
 (c) AIB  
 (d) IMF

29. On Nov. 05, \_\_\_\_\_ provided Pakistan with a new structure for North-South Gas Pipeline Project (NSGPP) in a goodwill gesture.  
 (a) Russia  
 (b) China  
 (c) Ukraine  
 (d) Turkey

30. On Nov. 08, \_\_\_\_\_ became the first on-field umpire to officiate 50 Twenty20 internationals.  
 (a) Aleem Dar  
 (b) Ahsan Raza  
 (c) Ian Gould  
 (d) Joel Wilson

31. On Nov. 08, \_\_\_\_\_ was elected as the chairperson of the Human Rights Commission of Pakistan (HRCP) for the next three years.  
 (a) Haris Khaliq  
 (b) Farah Zia  
 (c) Hina Jilani  
 (d) Husain Naqi

32. On Nov. 08, the opening ceremony of Pak-Russia military exercise, Druzhba-V, was held at \_\_\_\_\_.  
 (a) Chakwal  
 (b) Jhelum  
 (c) Kharian  
 (d) Tarbela

33. On \_\_\_\_\_, the 20th Shanghai Cooperation Organisation Council of Heads of State session was held.  
 (a) Nov. 07  
 (b) Nov. 08  
 (c) Nov. 09  
 (d) Nov. 10

34. On Nov. 12, \_\_\_\_\_ was appointed new chairman of Federal Public Service Commission.  
 (a) Nafees Zakaria  
 (b) Qaiser Rashid  
 (c) Muroof Afzal  
 (d) Nadeem H. Asif

35. On Nov. 12, Justice Waqar Ahmad Seth, the chief justice of the \_\_\_\_\_ High Court, died of Covid-19.  
 (a) Balochistan  
 (b) Peshawar  
 (c) Sindh  
 (d) Lahore

36. On Nov. 13, \_\_\_\_\_ was appointed Special Assistant to Prime Minister on Political Affairs.  
 (a) Amir Dogar  
 (b) Babar Awan  
 (c) Malika Bokhari  
 (d) Naeem Bukhari

37. Renowned Pakistan film producer and director Iqbal Kashmiri passed away on \_\_\_\_\_.  
 (a) Nov. 12  
 (b) Nov. 13  
 (c) Nov. 14  
 (d) Nov. 15

38. On \_\_\_\_\_, elections were held in Gilgit-Baltistan.  
 (a) Nov. 12  
 (b) Nov. 13  
 (c) Nov. 14  
 (d) Nov. 15

39. Pakistan's Gojal Valley borders China at \_\_\_\_\_.  
 (a) Khunjerab  
 (b) Hunza  
 (c) Sost  
 (d) Chillas

40. Rama Meadow is located in \_\_\_\_\_ district of Gilgit-Baltistan.  
 (a) Chitral  
 (b) Astore  
 (c) Gilgit  
 (d) Skardu

## INTERNATIONAL

1. On Oct. 16, Prime Minister Sadyr Japarov of \_\_\_\_\_ formally assumed the interim presidency.  
 (a) Kyrgyzstan  
 (b) Austria  
 (c) Iceland  
 (d) Poland

2. The capital of Kyrgyzstan is \_\_\_\_\_.  
 (a) Karakoi  
 (b) Bishkek  
 (c) Tokmok  
 (d) Jalal-Abad

3. The incumbent Prime Minister of New Zealand is \_\_\_\_\_.  
 (a) Judith Collins  
 (b) James Shaw  
 (c) Jacinda Ardern  
 (d) Andrew Little

4. Pāremata Aotearoa is the unicameral legislature of \_\_\_\_\_.  
 (a) Venezuela  
 (b) Bulgaria  
 (c) Azerbaijan  
 (d) New Zealand

5. On Oct. 18, Israel and \_\_\_\_\_ officially established diplomatic relations.  
 (a) UAE  
 (b) Sudan  
 (c) Serbia  
 (d) Bahrain

6. On Oct. 18, \_\_\_\_\_ announced that from next year, its citizens will be able to access government agencies, banking services and other amenities with a quick face scan.  
 (a) Japan  
 (b) China  
 (c) Singapore  
 (d) Taiwan

7. In 2021, Singapore will become the world's \_\_\_\_\_ country to use facial verification in its national ID scheme.  
 (a) First  
 (b) Second  
 (c) Third  
 (d) Fourth

8. On Oct. 19, Saudi Arabia's King

Salman appointed Khaled bin Abdullah al-Luhaidan the country's

\_\_\_\_\_  
 (a) Education minister  
 (b) Chief Justice  
 (c) Justice Minister  
 (d) Foreign Minister

9. On Oct. 19, the first-ever passenger flight from the \_\_\_\_\_ to Israel landed near Tel Aviv.  
 (a) UAE  
 (b) Bahrain  
 (c) Saudi Arabia  
 (d) Sudan

10. On Oct. 19, the \_\_\_\_\_ government announced to pay a lump sum of €5,000 to children of all men executed by colonial troops during Indonesia's independence war in the late 1940s.  
 (a) Russian  
 (b) Dutch  
 (c) Japanese  
 (d) French

11. On Oct. 20, the US government filed an Anti-trust lawsuit accusing \_\_\_\_\_ of maintaining an illegal monopoly in online search and advertising.  
 (a) Yahoo  
 (b) Facebook  
 (c) Google  
 (d) Twitter

12. On Oct. 20, \_\_\_\_\_ banned telecoms equipment from Huawei and ZTE in its 5G network.  
 (a) Belgium  
 (b) Norway  
 (c) UK  
 (d) Sweden

13. Gotabaya Rajapaksa is the current president of \_\_\_\_\_.  
 (a) Fiji  
 (b) South Africa  
 (c) Maldives  
 (d) Sri Lanka

14. On Oct. 22, the first ministerial meeting of G-20 Anti-corruption Working Group was held online and was hosted by \_\_\_\_\_.  
 (a) Japan  
 (b) India  
 (c) Saudi Arabia  
 (d) China

15. On Oct. 22, Lebanon politicians picked \_\_\_\_\_ as the country's new prime minister.  
 (a) Fouad Siniora  
 (b) Saad Hariri  
 (c) Najib Mikati  
 (d) Hassan Diab

16. On Oct. 23, \_\_\_\_\_ assumed the chairmanship of International Labour Organization.  
 (a) India  
 (b) Russia  
 (c) Bolivia  
 (d) China

17. On Oct. 23, the FATF plenary removed Iceland and \_\_\_\_\_ from the grey list.  
 (a) Magnolia  
 (b) Syria  
 (c) Iraq  
 (d) Sri Lanka



18. On Oct. 23, the FATE plenary decided to retain North Korea and \_\_\_\_\_ on the blacklist.

- (a) Poland (b) Iran  
(c) Sudan (d) Afghanistan

19. On \_\_\_\_\_, the United Nations announced that 50 countries have ratified a UN treaty to ban nuclear weapons.

- (a) Oct. 22 (b) Oct. 23  
(c) Oct. 24 (d) Oct. 25

20. With 50th ratification from \_\_\_\_\_, the UN treaty to ban nuclear weapons will enter into force on Jan. 22, 2021.

- (a) USA (b) Switzerland  
(c) Canada (d) Honduras

21. On Oct. 25, India-born Wavel Ramkalawan was elected as the President of \_\_\_\_\_.

- (a) Cape Verde (b) Fiji  
(c) Bahamas (d) Seychelles

22. On Oct. 25, the United States approved the potential sale of three weapon systems to \_\_\_\_\_, as well as missiles and artillery.

- (a) UAE (b) India  
(c) Taiwan (d) Qatar

23. On Oct. 25, Lewis Hamilton of \_\_\_\_\_ became Formula One's record all-time race-winner when he claimed his 92nd victory, to pass Michael Schumacher's 14-year-old record of 91 triumphs.

- (a) Italy (b) United Kingdom  
(c) Germany (d) Australia

24. On Oct. 25, Lee Kun-hee, chairman of \_\_\_\_\_, died at the age of 78.

- (a) Samsung Group (b) Hyundai Group  
(c) LG Corporation (d) Orion Group

25. Samsung Group is a South Korean conglomerate currently headquartered in \_\_\_\_\_.

- (a) Seoul (b) New York  
(c) Incheon (d) Geneva

26. On \_\_\_\_\_, the Indian government notified a law—UT of Jammu and Kashmir Re-organisation (Adaptation of Central Laws) Third Order 2020—allowing any Indian citizen to buy land in the Occupied valley.

- (a) Oct. 26 (b) Oct. 27  
(c) Oct. 29 (d) Oct. 30

27. On \_\_\_\_\_, the United States and India signed Basic Exchange and

Cooperation Agreement (BECA) on sharing of geospatial information.

- (a) Oct. 26 (b) Oct. 27  
(c) Oct. 29 (d) Oct. 30

28. On Oct. 30, \_\_\_\_\_ became the first player to smash 1,000 T20 sixes.

- (a) Rohit Sharma (b) Babar Azam  
(c) Shahid Afridi (d) Chris Gayle

29. On Oct. 31, legendary actor Sean Connery, best known for playing the original on-screen \_\_\_\_\_, died at the age of 90.

- (a) Frankenstein (b) Dracula  
(c) Indiana Jones (d) James Bond

30. The James Bond series focuses on a fictional British Secret Service agent created in 1953 by a \_\_\_\_\_ writer,



journalist and naval intelligence officer, Ian Fleming

- (a) Swiss (b) American  
(c) British (d) Irish

31. On Nov. 01, veteran \_\_\_\_\_ journalist Robert Fisk, who lived in and covered the Arab world for more than 40 years, died.

- (a) Swede (b) British  
(c) American (d) Canadian

32. On Nov. 03, India, Australia, \_\_\_\_\_ and the United States started a strategic navy drill Exercise, Malabar, in the Bay of Bengal.

- (a) Japan (b) Malaysia  
(c) Bangladesh (d) Vietnam

33. On Nov. 04, \_\_\_\_\_ and the United States held a joint Naval Exercise CARAT (Cooperation Afloat Readiness and Training).

- (a) Bangladesh (b) India  
(c) South Korea (d) Australia

34. On Nov. 05, after learning that a war crimes tribunal in The Hague had confirmed his indictment for war crimes, \_\_\_\_\_ President Hashim Thaci resigned.

- (a) Azerbaijan's (b) Kosovo's

- (c) Bosnia's (d) Serbia's

35. The first country to ever withdraw from the Paris Climate Accord is \_\_\_\_\_.

- (a) Japan (b) Yemen  
(c) USA (d) Qatar

36. On Nov. 09, President Trump terminated Defence Secretary Mark Esper and appointed \_\_\_\_\_, the acting secretary.

- (a) Thomas Alexander  
(b) Joseph Maguire  
(c) Ezra Cohen-Watnick  
(d) Christopher Miller

37. On Nov. 11, \_\_\_\_\_ Sheikh Khalifa bin Salman al Khalifa, the world's longest serving prime minister, died.

- (a) Kuwait's (b) Qatar's  
(c) Oman's (d) Bahrain's

38. On Nov. 12, \_\_\_\_\_ appointed a special investigator to prosecute alleged war crimes by its special forces deployed in Afghanistan

- (a) France (b) Germany  
(c) Australia (d) Norway

39. On Nov. 13, \_\_\_\_\_ Sadat Rahman, 17, won the 2020 KidsRights International Children's Peace Prize for developing a mobile app to help teenagers report cyberbullying and cyber crime.

- (a) Malaysia's (b) Bangladesh's  
(c) Pakistan's (d) India's

40. On \_\_\_\_\_, 15 Asia-Pacific countries signed the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership, the world's biggest free trade deal.

- (a) Nov. 12 (b) Nov. 13  
(c) Nov. 14 (d) Nov. 15

